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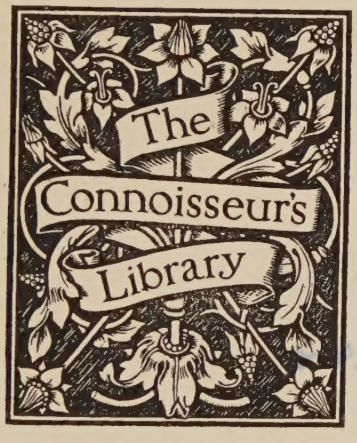
SEALS

The Golden Seal of Kings Henry IV. V and VI.

SEALS

BY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH
LL.D., F.S.A.



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INTRODUCTION

SEALS, and impressions of seals whether contemporary or recently made, have always formed an interesting subject for the collector whose natural desire to know all that can be said of these ancient objects and their designs stimulates the fancy and elevates the human character from mere curiosity up to intelligent research and study, which are the only *media* for advance along the lines of progress and science. A general knowledge of seals is indispensable, not only to the antiquary, but to the connoisseur and art student. The ingenuity which many of these objects display in putting so much that is eloquent upon the restricted space of the seal, arrests our attention; the historical and legendary episodes which they immortalise excite our admiration; the beauty of their conception and the charming effect which they display, claim our approbation; and the testimony which they afford to the truth of many facts which might be questioned without the irrefragable evidence yielded by seals, demands our acceptance. Hence seals deserve a foremost place among the *pièces justificatives* of the civilised world. It is to enable the reader to gain a general, rather than a specific, acquaintance with seals that this work has been undertaken. To do full justice to so attractive a subject, ten such volumes as this present one might well be written.

My thanks are due to the Director of the British Museum for permission to reproduce many plates from the Catalogue of Seals preserved in the Department of Manuscripts; to Messrs. Mansell and Co. for permission

to copy a considerable number of seals from their extensive collection of British Museum photographs; and to Mr. A. P. Ready, who kindly lent some casts for use among the illustrations.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH

18*th September* 1907

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1. Beauvais. Commune of the City. 1228. 2. Avignon. Leaden bulla of the Commune. 1226. 3. Do. Reverse. 4. Beaumont-sur-Oise, or Bellomons, in L'Isle de France. Commune. 1228. 5. Condom, in Gascony. Corporation of the town or city. Thirteenth century. 6. Celle, or Cella. Corporation or Guild of Conditores. Thirteenth century. 7. Tournay. Fourth seal of the Commune of the city and town. Fourteenth century. 8. Faucogney, in Department of Haute-Sâone, Franche-Comté. Seal of the Public Lands. Late fourteenth century. (Duke of Burgundy.) 9. Paris University. Seal of the 'English Nation.' 1398. (Coronation of the Virgin; St. Katharine; St. Martin; Doctor teaching students.) 10. Calais. Mayoralty seal. 1460. 11. Calais. Counterseal of Reymonde de Cuttures, Mayor. 1513. 12. Calais. Counterseal of Richard Pontisbery, Mayor. 1526. 13. Montpellier in Languedoc. Leaden bulla of the 'Twelve Consuls.' Thirteenth century. 14. Aubigny. Seal of the Bailliage. Fourteenth century. 15. Arles, in Provence. Leaden bulla of the city. 'URBS · ARELATENSIS · EST · HOSTIBUS · HOSTIS · ET · ENSIS.' 16. Chartres. Letter seal of the 'Obligations of the Vicomté.' Fourteenth century. 17. Harfleur, in Normandy. Official seal of the Mayor of the Royal Town, when held by the King of England, whose arms are on the sail of the warship. Distant view of the town. Fifteenth century. 18. Montivilliers, in Department of Seine Inférieure, Normandy. Third seal of the 'Obligations of the Vicomté.' 1377. 19. Do. Counterseal.

PLATE XLI

SEALS OF NOBLE LADIES OF FRANCE, *To face p.* 292

1. Éléonore de Vermandois, Countess of Beaumont, wife of Mathieu III., Count of Beaumont-sur-Oise. 1177.

2. Johanna of England, Queen of Sicily, daughter of King Henry II. of England, Duchess of Narbonne, Countess of Thoulouse, Marquise of Provence. Died in 1199. Silver matrices of the seal found in the Cistercian Abbey of Grandselve, Thoulouse. 3. Do. Reverse. 4. Ela, wife of Robert, son of Ernes Malet, heiress of Robert III., Count of Alençon. 1220. 5. Ida of Flanders, Countess of Boulogne and Dammartin. 1201. 6. Mathilde, Countess of Boulogne, daughter of the above Ida (No. 5), Consort of Philippe Hurepel, son of King Philippe Auguste. 1236. 7. Mathilde, or Mahaut, daughter of Henri, Duke of Brabant, wife of Robert of France, Count of Artois. 1265. 8. Marguerite of Burgundy, Viscountess of Limoges, daughter of Hugues IV., Duke of Burgundy. 1268. 9. Jeanne de Châtillon, wife of Pierre, Count of Alençon and Chartres, daughter and heiress of Jean, Count of Blois. 1271. 10. Jeanne, wife of Guillaume l'Archevêque, Lady of Partenay, Castres, and Montfort. 1272. 11. Marguerite of Sicily, wife of Charles, Count of Valois, Countess of Valois, Alençon, and Anjou. 1294. *Marguerite* flower in the hand. 12. Jeanne of Bretagne, daughter of Duke Arthur II. and his wife Yolande de Dreux, wife of Robert of Flanders, Lord of Cassel. 1294-1363. Armorials and charges include Cassel, Dreux, Bretagne, Navarre, and England (for her grandmother Beatrice, daughter of King Henry III.). 13. Elysabeth, or Ysabeaus, Countess of Namur and Flanders, wife of Count Guy de Dampierre. 1294. 14. Yolande of Flanders, wife of Henri IV., Count of Bar, Countess of Bar and of Longueville, Lady of Cassel. 1373. Armorials and charges include Navarre, Bourbon of Longueville, Cassel, and Bar.

PLATE XLII

EARLY SEALS OF GERMAN SOVEREIGNS, *To face p.* 294

1. Charlemagne. 768-800. 2. Louis I., 'Le Débonnaire.' 814-840. 3. Louis I., as Emperor. 815-

840. 4. Lothaire I. 840-855. Antique gem, bust of Caracalla or Alexander Severus. 5. Lothaire I., as King. 6. Louis II. 843-876. Antique gem. 7. Louis III.? Antique gem. 8. Charles III., 'Le Gros,' Emperor. 881-888. Ornamental handle of the matrix. 9. Arnolf, as King, 888; Emperor, 896. Died 899.

PLATE XLIII

EARLY SEALS OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, ... *To face p.* 294

1. Otto I., 'The Great,' as King. 936. Died 973. 2. Otto I., as Emperor. 961-973. 3. Otto II., as Emperor. 973-983. 4. Otto III., as Emperor. 983-1002. 5. Otto III., as King. 6. Heinrich II., as King. 1002-1024.

PLATE XLIV

GREAT SEALS AND BULLÆ OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, . *To face p.* 296

1. Alfonso of Castile and Leon, King of the Romans. 1257. 2. Rudolf, King of the Romans. 1237-1291. 3. Rudolf. Golden Bulla. 4. Do. Reverse. 5. Heinrich VII., King of the Romans. 1308-1313. 6. Carolus IV., King of the Romans. 1346-1378. 7. Carolus IV., as Emperor. Obverse used after 1347. 8. Carolus IV. Golden Bulla. 9. Do. Reverse.

PLATE XLV

SEALS OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, ... *To face p.* 296

1. Carolus IV., as King of Hungary, etc. 1346-1378. 2. Sigismund, King of the Romans. 1410-1418.

PLATE XLVI

SEALS OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE, ... *To face p.* 298

1. Sigismund, as Emperor, King of Hungary, etc. (1410.) 1418-1437. 2. Do. Reverse. The *doppel-adler*, or double-headed eagle of Ezechiel. See page 295.

PLATE XLVII

LOCAL SEALS OF THE NETHERLANDS, ETC., ... *To face p.* 300

1. Burgesses of Rupelmonde in Anvers, Belgium. 1237. Early form of castle. 2. Scabini or Echevins of Axel, in Zeeland. 1237. (Early trefoils or chess-rooks.) 3. Town of Grammont or Mont-Gheraud in Hainaut. 1244. 4. Town of Oudenbourg in West Flanders. 1226. 5. Tournay Commune or Corporation. 1288. 6. Scabini or Echevins of Muiden or Mouda, in North Holland. 1309. 7. Do. Reverse or counterseal. 8. Scabini or Echevins of Ysendyke, in Zeeland. 1275. Double-headed eagle displayed. 9. Scabini and Burgesses of Dam, or Hondesdamma, in West Flanders. 1309. 10. Do. Reverse or counterseal.

PLATE XLVIII

ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN, . . . *To face p.* 304

1. James or Diego I., King of Aragon, Count of Barcelona, and Lord of Montpellier. 1226. 2. Do. Reverse. 3. James, King of Aragon, etc. 1258. 4. James, King of Aragon, etc. 1298. Bulla. 5. Henry, King of Navarre. 1271. 6. Do. Reverse.

PLATE XLIX

SPANISH, EPISCOPAL, MONASTIC, EQUESTRIAN, AND HERALDIC SEALS.
NORWAY, AN EQUESTRIAN SEAL, . *To face p.* 306

1. Sancho I., Archbishop Elect of Toledo. 1255. 2. Sancho II., Archbishop of Toledo, Primate, Chancellor of Castile. 1269. 3. Augustine, Bishop of Osma or Oxoma in Old Castile. 1269. 4. Jenego Juannes, Hospitalero of St. Mary's Hospital, Pampeluna. 1277. 5. Fr. Petrus de Mast'ceta, Official of the Holy Inquisition. Fifteenth century. 6. Convent of the Hospital of Roncesvalles, in Navarre. 1322. 7. Rodrigo Diaz de los Canberos, of Navarre. 1223-1226. 8. Do. Reverse. 9. Audouin Huglace, Lord of Hegrenes, Norwegian Ambassador to France. 1295. 10. Blanche d'Artois, Queen of Navarre, Consort of Henry I., Countess-Palatine of Champagne and Brie. 1275. 11. Reymund Fulco, Vicomte of Cardona, Lieutenant of the King of Aragon. 1298. 12. Ferand Ivanes of Valverde, Spain. 1276. 13. Pedro Clemente Arostegui, Archbishop, Bishop of Osma in Old Castile. 1748-1760. 14. Fernando, Infante of Spain, son and heir of the King of Castile and Leon. 1270.

PLATE L

ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN, . . . *To face p.* 306

1, 2. Sancho IV., King of Castile and Leon. 1294. 3. James II., King of Aragon. 1298.

PLATE LI

ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, *To face p.* 306

1. James I., King of Majorca, etc. 1298. 2. Do. Reverse or counterseal. 3. James II., King of Majorca, etc. 1341. Leaden bulla. 4. Do. Re-

verse. 5. René, King of Jerusalem, Sicily, Aragon, etc. About 1452-1480. 6. Denis, King of Portugal and Algarve. (Four gems let in to the matrix.) 1318. 7. Do. Reverse. (Four gems let in to the matrix.)

PLATE LII

ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN, . . . *To face p.* 308

1. Alfonso XI., King of Castile and Leon. 1332. Leaden bulla. 2. Do. Reverse. 3. Ferdinand IV., Infante of Castile and Leon. 1310. 4. Do. Reverse. 5. Pedro, King of Castile and Leon. 1336. Leaden bulla. 6. Do. Reverse.

SEALS

CHAPTER I

THE EARLIEST SEALS

SEALS, like many other human inventions, may be traced back to a period of the highest antiquity. We are unable to fix any precise period when the seal first entered the circle of objects which man has found useful, and even necessary, to his existence. It has been said, that the discovery of printing owes itself to the accidental impression of letters, cut on a stone, setting off on the body of a man who leaned against it. Possibly the idea embodied in the seal is the outcome of a very similar event. All nations, Oriental and European, American and Australasian, appear to have spontaneously adopted the principle of the seal, that is, the making of a special and unique mark, easily recognisable, but impossible to imitate, wherewith to set apart objects, or to identify them. The ancient Jewish races, as is abundantly clear from many passages in the Old Testament, were well acquainted with the seal, and among other instances we may point to the remarkable dialogue between Judah the patriarch and his foolish daughter-in-law Tamar, recorded in Gen. xxxviii. 18, where he cries 'What pledge shall I give thee?' to be met with the response: 'Thy signet and thy bracelets.' The signet here, as will be shown as this work proceeds, was probably not a ring worn on the finger, but a cylinder of hard stone, engraved with a sacred or personal device, and pierced through its long axis, so that a thong or

string could be passed through, and enable it to be tied to the wrist. Moses declares in his threnody (Deut. xxxii. 34), 'Is not this laid up in store with me and *sealed* up among my treasures?' Sealing is also referred to in Exodus xxviii. 11, where we read of a divine command to Moses, relating to onyx stones: 'with the work of an engraver in stone, like the engravings of a signet shalt thou engrave the two stones with the names of the children of Israel.' The patriarch Job said 'my transgression is *sealed* up in a bag' (Job xiv. 17), and again Job was answered by the Lord out of the whirlwind: 'It is turned as clay to the *seal*' (Job xxxviii. 14). Jezebel wrote letters in Ahab's name and sealed them with his *seal* (1 Kings xxi. 8). The Jews (in Nehemiah ix. 38) declare, 'we make a sure covenant, and write it; and our princes, Levites, and priests *seal* unto it.' In Esther (iii. 12) mention is made of a writing, or dispatch, 'in the name of King Ahasuerus was it written, and *sealed* with the king's ring.' The Song of Solomon lays stress upon the sureness of the safety of a seal, where it is said 'Set me as a *seal* upon thine heart, for love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave, the coals whereof are coals of fire which hath a most vehement flame.' The prophet Daniel received divine command to 'shut up the words and *seal* the book,' and when his stedfast belief in his God was put to the test, by immuring him in the den of lions (vi. 17), 'a stone was brought, and laid upon the mouth of the den, and the king *sealed* it with his own signet, and with the signet of his lords.' Hereby he became a prototype of the entombment of Jesus Christ, of whom it is recorded: 'So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, *sealing* the stone, and setting a watch' (Matt. xxvii. 66). Finally we read of a book *sealed* with seven seals (in Rev. v. 1), and the inspired Evangelist 'heard the number of them which were *sealed*: an hundred and forty and four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel' (Rev. vii. 4).

From these passages it is abundantly evident, that

the seal entered largely into the important and precise aspects of life among the people of the Oriental world, and corresponding instances could be collected without difficulty from the historical records of Greece, Rome, and other Western nations. In many cases the seal thus mentioned refers to the cylindrical rollers of hard and precious stone, already described, many of which now repose in the cabinet of the collector or the showcases of the museums and galleries of our cities. The design was engraved on them by the use of a harder stone in the form of powder taken up by a pencil-shaped tool furnished at its point with a little wax, or similar substance, which would hold the powder while the tool itself was revolved by the hands or fingers of the engraver. An impression was made by rolling the cylinder along a mass of moistened clay, or waxen composition, placed in proper position on the tablet or door, the lid of a chest, the flap of a folded sheet of papyrus, or the mouth of a bottle, in order to prevent any tampering with the contents thus hidden or covered up from the eye or hand of the dishonest or the too curious. A large number of these objects, gathered from the rubbish-heaps of Eastern countries, the sites of mouldering towns, and palaces, fast perishing in the deserted plains of Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Babylonia, and other ancient emporiums of life and activity, has been acquired by the authorities of the British Museum and other institutions, and they may be obtained from those who deal in antiquities with very little trouble. The designs on these objects are for the most part mythological, cryptic, religious, ceremonial, or emblematical; and their age, which is very uncertain, ranges over many centuries anterior to the Christian era. It is to this almost universal custom of sealing valued objects with a clay or wax impression, that the preservation of the engraved gems of Greece and Rome is due. The imperishable nature of the engraved substances also lends itself to their preservation, and the remarkably beautiful and attractive character of the

designs which they bear, operates also very greatly towards their being stored and prized by successive generations of owners.

The engraved stone, stamp, or matrix, which yields the seal, sometimes takes other forms. It may be conical with rounded top, through which a small hole was pierced for its suspension by a thong or string; or it may be flat and circular or elliptical, a form convenient for setting as a plaque or ring, to be worn by the owner, suspended from the neck or put upon the finger. It would be more correct to call the impression thus made the *seal*, and the other the *stamp*, but custom of the present day uses the word *seal* to denote both the stamp or matrix, and the impression made by the stamp, upon the wax or other substance, which is to receive the design. Seals, under the title of *Khatem*, were very extensively used from the earliest times by the Egyptians, who, according to the dignity and means of the possessor, composed their matrices of gems, gold, silver, porcelain, or vitrified soapstone, appending them to a chain, or setting them as rings, and engraving upon them representations of deities and kings, names, mottoes, emblematical designs and ornamental devices. Their impressions were at first made in refined Nile mud, or prepared clay, and attached by slips of papyrus, or by cords, to their documents. The use of seals among this ancient and intelligent people was far more universal than at first sight might be supposed. Even tombs, victims set apart for the sacrifice, bread, and various other objects in use every day were sealed. As well as Ahab and Ahasuerus, already shown to have possessed seals, the great kings Darius and Alexander are known to have used them.

The Chinese royal or 'Great' seal, called *se*, dates as far back as B.C. 248. These were at first square, their form was afterwards round. Other seals of this Oriental people, composed of various metal and hard substances, were chiefly in the shape of a parallelopiped, surmounted

by figures of animals. The recent investigations and excavations carried out at Kouyunjik, and elsewhere in the East, prove that the Assyrians and other peoples were thoroughly well acquainted with the use of seals, which generally consisted of cones of precious stones, such as chalcedony and onyx, and were engraved with the usual representations of animals, gods, heroes, kings, sentences, and other designs. The Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Etruscans, to mention only a few out of many, also used seals. The Greeks were at first content, in their primitive simplicity of life, to use wooden seals, but later, as their wonderful arts gradually developed, we find engraved gems in use, their date probably commencing as far back as the sixth century before the Christian era,—a date generally assigned to the celebrated ring engraved by Theodorus for Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos.

Among the Latin races, seals, originally introduced by the Etruscans, were in constant use, not only for documents but for bags of money, granaries, and private rooms. Again, the Arabians and Hindoos, from a very early time, made use of metal seal stamps and engraved gems, to impress, by means of an ink or pigment, certain devices upon their books and documents, the use of wax among these peoples being comparatively a modern substitute. During the continuance of the Roman Empire, leaden seal impressions were used for various purposes, as well as the clay seals already described, and it was not until after the era of Constantine that *bullæ* or circular seal impressions of gold, silver, or lead came into prominent use. Those of the Byzantine Emperors commence in the middle period of the fourth century before the birth of Christ. Some of the later examples bear representations of the Blessed Virgin Mary, or Panagia, on the one side, and a portrait of the reigning Emperor on the other. Of these a fuller account will be given later on in this work. It is necessary here to give a short account of the various forms and styles of engraved

gems, the earliest form of the matrix from which the seal impression was made.

It is universally admitted that the art of fashioning stones, flints and pebbles, fragments of crystals, and other mineral substances, into the forms of arrowheads, axeheads, and other weapons or tools, is one of the earliest which found favour with man, when emerging from the purely animal into the human or intelligent condition. As progress developed, and what is called civilisation began to take hold of the man, to whose proneness to observation and innate love of innovation and inspection all advance along the line of invention is to be attributed, and as the supposed necessities which circle around improved manner of living and better or more comfortable existence began to be multiplied, it is thought that the ideographic pictures, or language in its earliest stages, inscribed more or less rudely on rock or slabs, by means of symbols, led eventually to the practice of delineating—at first by *intaglio*, or cutting the desired symbol down below the surface of the material, and, at a later period, by *relief*, or leaving the device standing up beyond the plane of the surface and cutting away the surrounding blank portions. To this principle there succeeded, by an easy transition, the marking or engraving of small flakes or convenient pieces of hard substances, with emblems, either in relief or in intaglio, to serve for a stamp, seal, or mark, which, when set upon any object of value, gave it the peculiar value of appropriation by that particular person whose special mark was thereon recognised and respected, the property thus bearing the private mark of its owner, and claiming immunity from acquisition by any other person. In the ages when education was rare, such a kind of seal or mark stood, as it were, in place of the signature, and really became, both then and afterwards, a necessary accompaniment of identification, long after reading and writing had become pretty general accomplishments. The very word *seal* is derived from the Latin *sigillum*,

which is a diminutive word regularly formed from *signillum* the diminutive of *signum* (a sign or mark of segregation), by dropping the *n*. The composition of the word *signum* is to be traced to the Latin particle *se*, which signifies separation or setting apart, as found in several Latin words as, for example, *semotus*, moved apart, removed; *seductus*, led apart or astray; *sepositus*, separated or set apart, and so forth; and to the word *gigno*, to produce, beget, fashion, or make. In the light of this derivation, *signum* is the noun related to the verb *signo*, to make, produce, or fashion apart, and by its use with, or application to, any object of value or importance, indicated private or peculiar and absolute possession of and property in the object thus signalised.

To the employment, in this manner, of the sign, *signum*—the seal or little sign, *sigillum*—and the little mark, *signetum*, or signet, appertains, without any doubt, the practice of the art of engraving upon stones suitable and attractive for their hardness, brilliancy, transparency, or peculiar beauty; for early man always looked with longing eyes on the brightest and most sparkling objects which came within his range of vision or the reach of his restless fingers. Such stones as possessed these enticing characteristics, rivalled, if they did not surpass, the most beautiful examples of carving and lapidary art. Probably the most ancient stones, whose surfaces are thus enhanced by engravings, are to be found among the Egyptians and Babylonians, nor is it easy to ascertain which of these two nations should cede to the other in respect of the higher antiquity; possibly the older civilisation of Egypt claims the paramount place in regard to the practice of engraving stones. Among these highly civilised people, one of the earliest forms, contemporaneous with the remotest dynasties that ruled the delta of the Nile, is that of the sacred beetle or scarab, called *kheper*, standing upon a tablet, or slab, of oval or rectangular form. These objects were pierced through their long axis, so that they could be fitted with a string or wire, in order to act as

bezels of rings to be worn on the finger or wrist. They were made of a schist, soapstone, or any other kind of soft mineral, covered with glaze of a yellow, or green, tint, thrown upon them by the agency of the fire; and on the conveniently flat surface of the oval or rectangular tablet on which they are set, the engravers introduced the representations and titles of gods, heroes, kings, royal and public officers, animals, natural objects, sentences, mottoes, geometrical figures, and other arbitrary devices. These were generally in intaglio, and the owner impressed them upon a small lump of clay, or mud from the river, carefully prepared, in order to be capable of receiving a good impression. As would be naturally expected, the universal use of this form of seal, a necessity for every one in the land, led to a great variety, not only of symbols, but of choice of material and quality of workmanship. Hence some of the finest, and some of the meanest and coarsest, specimens have been found side by side in the rubbish-strewn heaps of sand in the desert outskirts of ancient towns and villages, and they belong to the same age. The scarabæoid, or rudimentary beetle-form, without legs or other criteria, a mere shape, flat on the one side and humped or rounded on the other, found favour with some owners, and these imperfect, and unfinished, forms may, in some instances, be placed as far remote as the period of the fourth and fifth dynasties.

Later, at the period of the twelfth dynasty, a period difficult to identify with the years of our present numeration of time before the Christian era, cylinders of various hard mineral and other substances came into fashion. These vary in dimensions between one and two inches. At a subsequent period, this style appears to have fallen into disuse. The scarab and its allied congener, the scarabæoid, appears again during the comparatively late Egyptian period of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. But they were then made in a better style, the cutting sharper and more regular, the

fashion and proportion of the details more elegant, and the glaze, which many of them still exhibit, was remarkably beautiful. The dimensions of these later seals are smaller. Then, again, during the rule of Kings Amenophis II. and Amenophis III., large seals of this kind occasionally occur, some measuring about three inches in length and bearing long inscriptions in the hieroglyphic character, recording royal marriages, the extent of the Empire, the construction of lakes, the prowess of the king in the chase, and similar public, local, and historical matters. But there are few, or no, instances of seals of the class which can be attributed to prominent or private persons. Their use appears to have been exclusively reserved to the royal house. As time progresses, these become less common, and about the fifth century B.C., which coincides with the date usually attributed to the twenty-sixth dynasty, they disappear.

How these beautiful relics were made by a race of people, who, although highly intelligent and ingenious and versed in the art of transporting immense blocks of stone for long distances, have left behind them no implements of better capacity than might be found to-day in a child's box of tools, is difficult to determine. It is probable that they were cut or carved with small gouges or chisels, when the nature of the material permitted of the use of such tools. In other cases, perhaps, the drill or sharpened wooden spit armed at the end with a small portion of corundum or Tripoli powder, may have been employed. Whatever may have been the method, it is certain that the art of engraving hard stones is of a very great antiquity. One stone of green jasper, fashioned in the form of a scarabæus, has been especially described by those who have written on the Egyptian arts. It belongs to the early date of the eleventh dynasty, and is attributed to Sehekemsaf. It is embellished by the setting of a golden frame. Basalt, diorite, jasper, steatite, soapstone, and other similar materials, lend

themselves appropriately to the hand of the Egyptian seal engravers. Mention has also been made by writers, of talcose schist, carnelians, agates, and in fact few hard natural substances have been overlooked by the engravers, who lived in a region so prolific in a most extensive variety of mineral wealth as Egypt. The native style of the early periods became influenced in later times by, or at least attempted to assimilate itself to, the best work of contiguous nations, and hence in Persian, Phœnician, Greek, and Cypriote seals, there is to be seen a certain affinity with the examples of Egyptian origin. One very fine bezel of a yellow jasper bears the figure of a bull on the one side, and that of a horse on the other. It also bears the royal name of Amenophis II., and it is believed to be the finest example of engraving on hard stone by the Egyptian artists which has been handed down to our times. To the same date belongs a seal of green obsidian, bearing the name of Queen Hatasu, a work of considerable merit. It is said that genuine examples of this kind of engraving are rare, and the numerous forgeries which have been palmed off by wily Arabs on unsuspecting collectors must be eliminated from the list of these objects.

After Egyptian types we may turn to Babylonian seals, which, in point of chronology, come next in order. These are for the most part of the cylindrical type, which has already been noticed. The people of this Empire rolled their seals across their clay documents, and probably closed their granary doors and their wine and corn vessels with an impression of a signet made in this way. Such a method of preventing the invasion of property is undoubtedly older than the use of the lock and key, which, however, has also a very good antiquity to bear witness to its use. These Babylonish cylinders are of beautiful workmanship. Their length ranges between half an inch to as much as four inches in some cases. The diameters are proportionate, about one-third or one-fourth of the length. As for materials, a large range of

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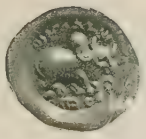

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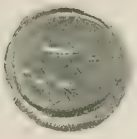

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ANCIENT GEM SEALS

natural substances came into the workshop of the engraver; among others, limestone, magnetite, hæmatite (always a favourite), jasper of various kinds, crystal, and even shell, occur. Here again it is difficult to fix dates with any amount of close precision to these relics, or to attribute them to other than royal personages or officials of the priesthood or government. The figures of deities, who compose the crowded pantheon of Assyria and Babylon, were the most affected, accompanied by inscriptions in the cuneiform character, setting forth the name and titles of the owner, and his devotion to such and such a deity; for these people, not unlike others of the present day in Europe, attached themselves preferentially to one or other member of the celestial hierarchy, without, of course, seriously neglecting or disregarding the others. The tutelary saint, or *genius*, obtains not only among heathen and idolatrous nations, but universally, although perhaps with Europeans the idea is disguised. Nothing is known for certain as to the implements used in the manufacture of these seals. The wheel, with its edge provided with a sharp cutting powder, or composed of a stone harder than that which it is intended to cut, the drill, or the chisel, would seem to be the most likely tools suited to arrive at such a result. It is not improbable that the engraver kept a stock of blank cylinders, and engraved them to suit his customers. Their high antiquity is very remarkable: they begin to occur at a period of about two thousand two hundred years before the Christian era, in the time of Uzukh, and were fashionable in the time of King Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. After seventeen hundred years of use, this style of seal falls away, and in B.C. 500 it is thought that their use had been discarded. The period of King Khammurabi presents us with some of the finest.

Assyria exhibits contemporary examples of the cylinder seal. Some of these have been shown to date about B.C. 980. Their materials, like those of the adjacent

kingdom of Babylon, are various. Chalcedony, agate, carnelians, and other opaque or translucent stones, were in best demand; but the amazon stone, smaragdus, emerald, jasper, and so forth, were not despised. Here, too, the quasi-religious aspect of the seal is abundantly manifested by the representations of the gods and divinities of the Assyrian polytheism which are found on the seals. Inscriptions are not so frequent as would be expected on these Assyrian cylinders, and their use was apparently extending among persons of private position, who have left their records among the clay tablets that have been recovered from the rubbish mounds marking the sites of desolate towns, destroyed cities, and wasted cemeteries of the sunburnt regions of the Four Rivers. Assyria was not a whit behind Babylon in artistic talent, so far as seals may be called in attestation. There is, we read, a remarkably fine cylinder bearing the name of a king who flourished in B.C. 850, which indicates that the engraver's art in this instance far surpassed that which is exhibited contemporaneously with the Babylonians. Another fine specimen is believed to have actually served the great Sennacherib for a signet.

This Empire used a form for seals, resembling a cone with rounded top, specimens of which are occasionally met with in jasper and a fine blue, sapphirine-coloured chalcedony, and charged with figures of divinities. Names of owners do not usually occur on these types. The base, which is generally circular, is sometimes slightly convex. Examination of the work seems to point to the use of a wheel for cutting the design, which is often of beautifully delicate work, and bears eloquent testimony to the height of excellence to which the practice of the fine arts in Assyria had attained at this remote period. Sometimes the form is varied, by facets running up from the base towards the rounded top of the conoidal seal, and then the base takes an octagonal outline. They have a small orifice at the top, where the thong, or string, was passed through to enable the owner to attach them to the wrist

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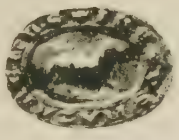

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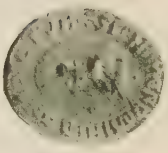

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ANCIENT GEMS IN MEDIÆVAL SETTINGS

or girdle. These cones could not, of course, be rolled, but the devices which they bore on their base, or face, were impressed on the clay or wax, and those impressions that are still extant in our museums, and among private collections, show how universal was their employment. In point of fact, they supplied the place of the lock and key with the later nations of the Western civilisation. Among their materials, the carnelian, sard, agate, quartz, sapphirine chalcedony, and other semi-precious stones are met with. Under the rule of the Persians, the use of the cylinder and the conoidal seal flourished. One, attributed to Darius Hydaspes, about 517 B.C., has been found in Egypt. This consists of a greenish-tinted chalcedony, and bears a fine engraving of the king, in his hunting chariot, slaying a lion, symbolical of the conquest of his enemies and opponents, accompanied with a very interesting trilingual inscription in ancient Persian, Median, and Assyrian characters, which is of transcendent value as a key for the comparative study of these three languages.

It is found that the coniform seals of the Persian period chiefly occur in onyx, and similar semi-precious stones; and the design of the ruler overcoming the lion, which may of course be taken literally as occurring in a region where the animal was abundant, must also be taken in a figurative sense as exhibiting the success of the monarch in subduing his antagonists and vanquishing the tribes and nations who opposed the extension of his boundaries. Eastern imagery and the universal love of metaphor and parable, will not permit this aspect of the design to be neglected. It is recorded that Asiatic art, during the domination of the Seleucids, and Egyptian art, under the rule of the Ptolemies, gave birth to finely engraved designs on stones in which is shown a Greek style, in combination with emblems derived from Asiatic and Egyptian sentiment and cultus. The Greek art, and the Greek language, were affected in the Court, but they could not supplant all at once the use of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic characters of Assyria and Egypt respec-

tively with the people. Greece here, as was the case with Rome later, by sheer weight of the sense of beautiful proportion, founded on deep study of correct form, exercised an irresistible power in moulding national taste and inclination to cling to the true and real, and to abandon the stiff archaism of the past which was hollow, artificial, ignorant, and unreal. Following on in point of time, the Parthian Arsacids represented monarchs and personages, animals, and other designs, with Pehlvi inscriptions on their seals. Then came the Sassanians, from about the third to the seventh century of the Christian era, and during the era of their rule, spherical forms with pierced holes are found, gradually yielding to the flat oval plaque, or ring-stone, which may have been introduced by contact with the Romans. Such stones remain to this day in numerous instances. They are garnets, almandines, lapis-lazuli of a beautiful celestial blue, amethysts, niccoli, and carnelians. Their sizes vary, and their surfaces are flat, convex, or concave. The Indo-Scythic period, about the fifth and sixth centuries of our era, used these styles and materials, convex on the one side and flat on the other; and the Roman style of the flat oval stone was concurrently in use. There is a record of a very interesting niccolo, with the representation of Bahram Kerman, Shah or Emperor of Caramania, A.D. 389, trampling upon a vanquished Roman legionary, an idea evidently derived from the older prototypes of the Asiatic monarch subduing the lion, to which the attention of the reader has already been drawn.

The decadence of this particular form of seal takes the attention in examining the scarabs of Palestine and Egypt, where, in late times, Hebraeo-Phœnician art is distinctly inferior to the older Assyrian specimens. The stones used are in many instances of softer grain, the devices and designs are for the most part inscriptions or ornamental patterns; and even as far to the west as Sardinia the sepulchres have yielded to explorers many scarabs of a soft green chlorite stone. The fashion for

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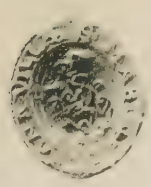

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ANCIENT GEMS IN MEDIÆVAL SETTINGS

these objects eventually passed to Etruria, where the period of its flourishing ranged from the third to the sixth century B.C. They appear to have been copied from Phœnician, or Egyptian, examples, but they are incomplete, or defective in carving; the subjects on the seal surface pseudo-archaic, in deep intaglio, and the *motifs* are derived from the pantheistic mythology of the Greeks. Heroology supplies the most favourite designs: the adventures of Hercules, Peleus, Tydeus, Perseus, Paris, and others are often met with. Sometimes Etruscan names have been added to the figures of the several heroes. Like the other phases of native Etruscan art, the fall of the Etruscans marks the period when these objects give way to the signet, engraved on a flat slip of precious stone as used by the Greeks and Romans.

With regard to the earliest Greek seals, it is not improbable that they belonged to, and were inspired by, the taste for the scarabæoid. Those, however, which have been found in the Isles of the Grecian archipelago, and on the mainland, belong to a more perfect and, therefore, later age. It has been laid down by writers on these subjects, that it is difficult to point to examples of archaic engraved stone seals, which would exhibit a pure Greek workmanship; but there are some which possess details, as, for instance, the Etruscan bordure, which presume an Etruscan and Greek intercourse. The engraved seals of Greece have generally been attributed to no more remote a period than the fourth century before our era. These are archaic or transitional. Their designs possess the stiff, unnatural drawing which characterises that epoch. The art, however, progresses; greater naturalness and rest, with a sense of balance and dignity, mark the representations, as indeed we should so expect, at the hands of a cultured people whose coinage indicates a power of the highest excellence in dealing gracefully with hard materials. The drawing appears to be more refined, the limited area is well filled with accessories set about the central imposing figure, which is to mark the

object and purpose of its making. These subjects consist of one or two principal personages, belonging to the mythological, but never to the historical, world; there are no inscriptions, nor names of owners, divinities, or artists. With little change, the style continues until the rise of Alexander the Great. A large variety of materials was brought into use; and it is not improbable that the traffic in stones suitable as mediums for the seal engraver of ancient Greece, was a large one, and quite distinct from the callings of the artist and the engraver. Among other precious stones, there occur the sard and sardonyx, the carnelian, the hyacinthus, garnets, chalcedony of the sapphirine and other varieties, agates, emeralds, beryls, and numerous other mineral crystals possessing the beautiful qualities of transparency, translucency, and flashing of lights from reflecting surfaces of cleavage. It is also worthy of note, that, in some cases at least, each gem had its appropriate application—for example, the beryl for marine subjects has been mentioned by writers.

The history of Greek seals of the classical period is long and intricate. The sixth century before Christ appears to be the earliest of which any definite knowledge is possessed. The signet of the Samian Polycrates, B.C. 548, had an amethyst or sardonyx stone engraved with the figure of a lyre by the Samian artist Theodorus. Signets are mentioned by Pausanias, and at the time of the Peloponnesian wars this class of seal was not uncommon. But the engraved seal formed one of the symbols of supreme power and royal authority, an idea resident in the possession of the seal not wholly separated from the Royal Seal in these modern days. Alexander is said to have used that of Darius, and to have given his own seal to Perdiccas. Artists, and subjects from their hands, have been recorded by Greek writers, and the beautiful specimens which belong to the Greek seal engraver and now adorn our museums and private collections are exceedingly numerous. Their value has rapidly risen, and a good Greek gem, or precious stone

engraved in intaglio with an attractive subject, that could have been bought forty years ago for a modest sum, would now be keenly sought for at a hundred times the price.

Whence the Romans obtained a knowledge of the seal art, is not quite certainly established. Possibly those are right who point to the Sabines; at any rate, the use of engraved stone seals rapidly became popular, both for official and private uses, and more than one notable personage is known to have possessed such objects. In fact a rage for collecting fine examples sprang up, and the collections thus formed, called *dactyliothecæ* or *boxes of rings*, may be dated from the close of the Roman Republic. Scaurus (son of Sulla, but also called stepson of Scylla) was one of the first, according to Pliny, who made such a collection, and the great Julius Cæsar bestowed no less than six, it is said, upon the Treasury of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. Pompey is recorded to have conveyed to the city of Rome, in B.C. 61, among his other spoils, the dactyliotheca of Mithridates, and thereby created a craze for the collection of such things. To pass to mediæval times, the *virtuoso*, Lorenzo dei Medici, formed a valuable cabinet of antique ring seals, chiefly for the sake of the precious stones finely engraved and the gems of great price. It is well known that the Louvre, the British Museum, and numerous collections of classical antiquities in London, Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and other continental cities possess fine series of engraved intaglio seal stones of the ancient world. Some collectors have turned their attention to the acquisition of these antique seals and seal rings, but more for the sake of the comparative interest of the design, than for the intrinsic value of the precious metals and stones of which they consist. The late Mr. Waterton the elder had, in this way, a fine collection of mediæval ring seals, including several Papal rings, but it has been dispersed, and many examples from it are now in the South Kensington Museum. The late Mr. Drury

Fortnum, in like manner, possessed a grand series of such objects which has been the subject of exhibitions and brochures. This latter collection embraced several ring seals of the early Christian period, and there are good accounts of some seals of the period in Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* and other kindred works. So also, the collection of the late Sir Augustus W. Franks, keeper of the Mediæval Antiquities of the British Museum and a prominent archæologist, included many valuable ring seals, and Sir John Evans, a veteran member of the Society of Antiquaries, possesses a very extensive series of rings that have served for the purpose of sealing.

At a relatively late period of the Græco-Roman era, during the dynastic rule of the Ptolemies, side by side with the widely spread taste for intaglio seals, there supervened the then new art of cutting in relief or *camaïeu*. In this respect it has been found, that the sardonyx, and its varieties, afforded the best scope for the artist's work, on account of its successive layers, or striations, of different coloured veining, but these objects of art were so very rarely used as seals, on account of the fact that the impressions which they would make would be difficult of decipherment, that they may be dismissed from notice in this work.

The Roman or Italian seal stones of the classical period carry on, as would be natural, the Greek styles, and, indeed, many must be attributed to the handiwork of Greek artists employed, with more or less freedom from bondage, by their Roman masters. The representation of portraiture, although still far from perfect, made great strides towards the achievement of a result which would satisfy the imperative demands of the anatomist, during the Empire epoch: hence these stone seals are rich with busts of Divinities, Emperors, Personages of the Imperial Family, Philosophers, Generals, and prominent Citizens of the Empire. A vast roll of subjects might be easily drawn up, as found

upon seal rings and gem seals, including religious ceremonies and sacrificial rites, constellations, gods, and lesser divinities, personifications of abstract ideas, nondescript creatures of the chimæra and gryllus types, masks, and comic and tragic figures, erotic and phallic subjects, and so forth. As the Roman Empire tottered to its fall, so the fine execution, which had marked the more virile age of the conquerors of the world, yielded to coarser and ruder execution of seal designs; mere outline in some cases, where a previous age would have chosen to spend time and intellect on the production of a fine work. By and bye, Christian symbolism is found on seals, and the deities of paganism discarded, bronze and other metals supersede the hard and precious stones, or the seal-makers are content to set old engraved gem seals in new metal settings, and in this wise the classic period of engraved seals dwindles away before the dawn of mediævalism.

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF THE ART OF SEALS— STUDY OF THE SEALS OF ENGLAND

IT is somewhat surprising that the history of the art which has been developed by the seal or matrix has never yet been taken in hand by any one sufficiently experienced in the study of these relics, to be able to treat the subject comprehensively. The collection of these beautiful objects, which occur in gold, silver, brass, latten, and other metals, wood, stone, ivory, bone, crystal, glass, and many precious gem and mineral substances, has always been an attractive task, and large values have been set upon, and paid for, especially fine examples of seals and stamps. The impressions in wax and compounds in which wax forms the principal ingredient, plaster of Paris, leather, glass, gutta-percha, and such like materials possessing the softness and durability requisite for a good and sharp impression, from the interest which they always evoke in the mind of the student, make a prominent feature in most antiquarian collections, but collectors have never been able to obtain a succinct account of the styles and varieties of the seals which they have acquired. And this is true, notwithstanding the lapse of many hundred years since the designer of seal devices, and the engraver of so many choice materials, had reached a culminating point in the excellence of their technique. To study seals, the connoisseur was compelled to obtain his historical and art knowledge, as best he might, from a few loosely written and often inaccurate monographs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from tracts and brochures introduced

from time to time into the journals and records of proceedings of archæological associations and societies, from catalogues of museums and muniment rooms, or from accidental notices and paragraphs inserted into county histories, genealogies of old or noble families, and other works dealing with heraldry, biography, topography, coinages, and the miscellaneous fine arts of mediæval times. The seal, whether matrix or impression, as a specimen of antiquity, of art, or of scientific interest, which has played no unimportant part in the cultured progress of the world, still awaits its historian; and the treatment of so vast a number of varieties of seals known to those who give attention to them, can only now be taken in hand in a general and comprehensive way. The collector must, perforce, study for himself the historical allusions, the emblematology and imagery, the hagiology, the biographical and topographical episodes, and the other peculiarities and idiosyncrasies of the several seals in which he takes an interest.

It is no new thing to declare, that the importance of seals does not yield to the importance of any other object of past value. Edifices, ruins, books, manuscripts, sculpture, and the multifarious apparatus of the hearth and of the sepulchre, do, indeed, claim a high place in our minds, by reason of the teaching power which they possess, and which they are capable of imparting to those whose tastes and inclinations lead them to make researches for their elucidation and explanation. Exploration, comparison, and contrast, all exert influence on the student; but the seal, portable, abounding in detail, not difficult of acquisition, nor hard to read if we set about deciphering the story it has to tell, practically within the reach of every one of us, takes us back, as we look upon it, to the very time of its making, and sets us, as it were, face to face with the actual owner of the relic, and in the language of the classical author, we may even fancy that we are living in the very times illustrated by the objects we are examining.

SEALS

The importance of a careful study of English seals by those who desire to obtain a good general knowledge of the antiquities of the land is unquestionably great. Seals are a prominent class of remains, and they possess many characteristics which should make them stand well in front of other relics. They are endued with a capability of casting an independent and original light upon many arts and sciences of old. They illustrate the manners and customs of the epochs which they help to beautify, and this light is afforded by few other means so exhaustively and so pleasantly. The side-paths of history are often made clear by seals. Heraldry, genealogy, pedigrees, and other literary quests are often rendered more easy by the occurrence of a seal. To the artist, the seal is an indispensable object. Ornamental design, architectural details, symbolism, and the shapes, devices, forms, and styles, which successively came into vogue and fell into disuse with our ancestors, are one and all illustrated by seals far better than by any other class of antiquarian relics.

The study of English seals naturally must commence with a consideration of the Great Seal, or Seal of Majesty, employed by the Sovereign for the ratification of his public acts and edicts. The specimens which have been preserved, with few unimportant exceptions a perfect series, represent, in the same way that the coinage does, an unbroken chain of beautiful relics, passing along the times for nearly a thousand years, and offering to view, as the several specimens rise into use and give way to their successors, aspects of political and artistic history, progress of the appreciation of what is beautiful and pleasing, and in a word, a microcosm of the adaptability of culture to events, and a fixing of temporary events by stamping a self-evident allusion to them by the design engraved on the matrix. The class of seals to which the Great Seal of England belongs is derived from the Byzantine or Greek invention, which was an improvement on the earlier stamp or slab of

which notice has already been given. As it was found necessary, or useful, that the Sovereign's seal, like his coins, should have two sides, an *obverse*, or principal side, and a *reverse*, or subordinate one, a kind of hinged tool, resembling in principle a pair of snuffers, was made, having two flat circular faces, one on each arm, and each was engraved with a monogram, a name, or a device. The use consisted in placing a lump of wax on the face of the document, which process was styled *en placard*, or in passing a cord, or thong, through the material on which the document was written, such as papyrus, leather, or parchment; the cord was then laid between two thin disks, or plates, of gold, silver, or lead, somewhat thicker than foil, and these, being laid together, were placed between the faces of the instrument which was then pinched up, by which means the thong or cord was secured, and the soft metal received the impression and could not be tampered with without showing signs of having been touched.

One of the earliest royal seals of our country belongs to this class. It is the leaden seal, called a *bulla*, of Coenwulf, King of the Mercians about the year 800 or 810. It is a genuine relic of the time of the great Saxon Heptarchy. It is said to have been brought from Italy, and passed into the possession of the Trustees of the British Museum in 1847. Some writers have seen, in this, a probable intention by that king to imitate the continental, or foreign, usage, when ratifying a grant made to some foreign institution or house of religion. The obverse bears a small cross which stands for *sigillum*, or *crux*, followed by the king's name, 'COENVVULFI REGIS,' around, and thus intended to read 'The Cross or Seal of King Coenwulf.' The reverse has a small cross of the kind sometimes called a cross moline, flanged at the extremities. It is to be remarked that this same kind of ornamental cross occurs on the few examples of Coenwulf's coins which are now extant. Notwithstanding the occurrence of this seal, or bulla, with so impor-

tant an owner as a king, who had been influenced in his choice of form by the kind used by early Popes and throughout the Byzantine Empire, the style does not seem to have attracted later English monarchs. It was favoured by the nobility of Southern France, Spain, and Sicily, but is rarely found in English use. The Golden Bulla of King Henry VIII., attached to the treaty which that ruler made with Francis I., King of France, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, which took place from the 7th to the 25th June 1520, and again in 1527, is the only instance when the custom was revived, and the matrices of all other royal seals of England were made in two stamps or sides, each with its own design, brought together, and held in position by means of studs, or lugs, which steadied these sides, while the soft wax, which was to receive the impression, was passed or poured between them. But there are two seals—they cannot be rightly called Great Seals, they should rather be considered as signets or ring seals—of other two Pre-Norman sovereigns, viz. Offa, King of the Mercians in 790, and Eadgar, King of the English in 960, which are still extant among us. It is right to say that there are those who look on these with some degree of suspicion. These are oval and bear impressions of portraits, busts in profile, after the Carlovingian style, clearly derived from classical prototypes, and resembling the contemporary seals of Frankish and German monarchs. If they are genuine, they were probably engraved on precious stones, or gems, after the Greek, Byzantine, or Roman manner, and set in gold as rings. These stand apart, and, like the seal of Coenwulf, exerted no influence on the succeeding art of English seals.

The true series of Great Seals of English monarchs commences with those of Edward the Confessor, 1043 to 1066. It has not been satisfactorily ascertained how many types of seals were in use during the Confessor's reign. Up to a comparatively recent time, one only was recorded, but researches, conducted among the seals and

documents of the king, have shown, that at least two other types, differing only in small details from the better-known type, must be recognised. Here again, the forgeries that were so rife among the monastic and ecclesiastical institutions in the middle ages, must be taken into account before we pin our belief absolutely on the genuineness of all Edward's seals. It is believed that there were three chancellors, or officers corresponding to this rank, in the king's court. They were Leofric, Wulfwi, and Reinbald. Probably they were entrusted with the keeping of the king's seal, and it may be that each of these personages in his turn had a new seal, after the fashion which obtained in later ages; but this is only a conjecture, for the royal records of those far-off days are no longer extant, even if they ever existed at all.

The inspection of this seal affords much gratification to the student, who is now standing at the threshold of British Sigillography. He may observe the chastely simple and archaic style of design, the balance of interest, the rest and grace, which all ancient fine art possesses. Nothing is redundant, and although, no doubt, there is a want of proportion in some places, the stern simplicity of the figuring is pleasing to the eye. Much is realistic, and much is conventional. It is the happy blending of the one with the other, that produces the picture which this seal puts before us. How far all this is to be attributed to native talent, and how far foreign influences have lent their aid, we may never know. It is well known that the Confessor, an enlightened and pious sovereign, had lived abroad, and there imbibed the love of foreign manners. He had opportunity of noticing the diplomatic usages of the Frankish and Carlovingian Courts, which imitated their Roman and Italian forerunners. He brought back with him to the simpler fashion of his insular court some of this liking, and it is to him that the sovereigns of the country owe the introduction of the Royal Seal, which was adopted without intermission throughout successive ages and still exists

to-day, without a break in the continuity of its employment. Anglo-Saxon sovereigns had not looked on the seal as a necessary adjunct to their documents. Their chancellors, or royal scribes, used the word *sigillum* in another sense, that of the small cross which was set before the names of the King, the Queen Consort, and the Dignitaries, whether of Church or State, whose names 'subscribed,' that is, ratified, the document at the foot of which they were added; and the solitary occurrence of the charters of Offa and Eadgar, granted in favour of a foreign monastery, and sealed with a signet, took this form in imitation of or in deference to a continental taste, always presuming that they are genuine instances of such work.

It will not be denied that Edward the Confessor's Great Seals demonstrate foreign influence, and compare favourably in many respects with the coeval seals of European monarchs; yet we must concede that there is a something of native grace, which is also conspicuous. On the obverse is delineated the king, clad in his robes of royal dignity, and seated on a throne of typical Anglo-Saxon architecture. He holds in the right hand the sceptre of power, in the left hand the orb, or so-called mound—*mundus*—to represent terrestrial sway; the two symbols taken together are to signify actual rule of the king over the area of his kingdom. In this respect, all the effigies of succeeding monarchs, as seen on their seals, bear these two concomitant emblems, which eloquently point to the paramount authority of the ruler over the land of his rule. Every detail in a seal bears a meaning. Some of them are self-evident, as here; others require a good knowledge of many things before we can interpret them aright. Is this effigy a true iconic portrait of our first king, or is it a merely conventional representation of a king without reference to the personal characteristics which distinguished him from other royal men? The pointed beard, the thin moustache, the sloping shoulder, and long thin leg, seem to declare that we have here, in all probability,

a true personal portrait, so far as the infantine state of artistic portraiture then would allow the artist to go, of the Confessor himself, and not a lifeless figure of human form. The inscription around this interesting design sets forth the title of the owner, who calls himself the *Basileus Anglorum*, or Emperor of the English. In later seals, the term *Basileus* is not used. The commoner title *Rex*, that is, king, is always employed. But this word *Basileus* tells us more than is apparent at first. It recalls the use of the word in Anglo-Saxon diplomatics many years previous to the accession of the Confessor to the insular throne, and shows that the word is no new-fangled one engendered in the brain of the seal engraver. A *Basileus* had *Reges*, or kings, and *Reguli*, or kinglets, under his domination, and the word was, therefore, appropriately used in those times, when the coherence of the many constituent parts of the kingdom was very far from being firmly established. Basileus also takes us back to a Byzantine origin for some at least of the fancies of the seal. The *bullæ* of the Emperors of the East perpetuate this title, and it has been shown that the assumption of the title of Empress by her late Majesty Queen Victoria, in relation to the foreign and Oriental possessions subordinate to the rule of Great Britain, was by no means without precedent both in Anglo-Saxon and mediæval days. At the time of the adoption there were some who looked on it as a rash and useless innovation: it is but the reassertion of, and return to, a very ancient designation of title which had been used by the Queen's predecessors many hundred years before her era. This, therefore, is an instance where the legend of a seal stamps that which was among some a question of vexed argument with the absolute assurance that it is an archæological fact.

On the reverse of the Confessor's seal is seen the Emperor-king seated, as before, on his throne, and in much the same attitude as on the other side. But here he holds other emblems of kingly use: the

sceptre surmounted by the dove of peace and mercy on the one hand, and the sword of might and justice in the other. These symbols point to the king as domestic governor within his own boundary: dispensing on the one hand justice and right rule, on the other not slow to mercy, and loving and being loved by his subjects. The whole aspect of the seal indicates simpleness of idea, coupled with the power of the draughtsman to produce, as no tyro would have been able to do, the balance beautifully maintained in these two representations. If we turn to the specimens, which we still have, of Anglo-Saxon outline drawings, of which there are many very fine ones in our public libraries, it becomes perfectly clear that the artist of the time of the Confessor was entitled to be looked on as a man of considerable ability, consummate taste, and technically capable of much that now marks the highest conception of representative talent. Of the many examples of the seal, which must have been extant at one time, very few still survive. Scarcely a dozen examples could be numbered, if all were counted up, but this is not a poor show of such frail cakes of wax, ill adapted to withstand the wear and tear of centuries, and the neglect which long was meted out to all classes of records. Edward's successor, the ill-fated Harold, is stated by one historian to have had a seal, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that a seal was attributed to him, not unlike that of the Confessor in respect of size, type, and general resemblance, but no examples have ever been met with, nor can we say that this king had much leisure to devote to the consideration of a seal. The short period of his rule, if ever he ruled at all in the true sense of the word, was occupied more with the sword of the soldier than with the pen of the scribe, more with the accoutrements and engines of war, than the seal of the diplomatist and the lawgiver.

William I., the 'Conqueror,' however, must be credited with, at least, two different types of a Great Seal, although they differ from each other so insignificantly that we may

consider them to be in all probability copies or nearly copies the one of the other. The art shown in the one, shines forth also in the other. It is, of course, early Norman, but not even that at its best. Here we meet for the first time with the *equestrian type*, where the ruler is riding on a warhorse, that is, in his military capacity, as Duke or leader of armies. The king, as king in royal majesty, seated on his throne, and accompanied with the pomp and panoply of sword, orb, and crown, is put on the reverse, perhaps to show that while William was Duke of Normandy by inheritance and due course of succession, his acquisition of the Kingdom of England was, to some extent, subsidiary and accidental. But be this as it may, the apparent anomaly in the seals of this king, viz. that of placing the ducal effigy in a more honourable position than the kingly figure, must be regarded as beyond question, because the hexameter distich or poem of two lines of verse in the legend or inscription begins on the ducal side, and ends on the side of the royal effigy. The Latin legend is:—

Obverse. + HOC NORMANNORUM WILLELMUM NOSCE PATRONUM SI

Reverse. + HOC ANGLIS REGEM SIGNO FATEARIS EUNDEM.

Quaint, bungling, and awkwardly constructed as this distich is,—probably the result of much cogitation on the part of its author—its signification is open to no doubt. In English it means:—

'By this sign + know thou that William is the Patron (= Duke) of the Normans; if | by this other + sign thou dost confess that the same is King of the English.'

The little word *si* at the end of the first line (on the obverse) governs the subjunctive verb *fatearis* which occurs on the reverse, and has been the innocent cause of much misapprehension on the part of writers on seals

who inadvertently, or carelessly, explained it as an abbreviation for *sigillo*, and read it with *hoc*, as *hoc sigillo*. We will not attempt to explain how their ideas of Latin grammar proposed to deal with the subjunctive verb in the second line, which indeed these writers usually took to be the first of the two. King William's seal, crude as it is, and lacking the elegance which is so apparent in later seals of English kings, is of much interest in this respect, that here begins a link between England and France, which, with but few and very temporary interruptions, endured right down to the close of the eighteenth century, when George III. deleted the obnoxious style of 'King of France' from his seals and coinage, as will be shown further on. Here again we may ask as to the amount of portraiture which William I.'s seals exhibit. Some see here true representations of the personal characteristics of this king. It may be so, but it must be for ever conjectural, for no reliable portraiture of the king is now extant, and the tapestry illustrations of the period can have no reliance placed on them as representing individual and personal appearances. His successor, the unlucky William Rufus, who occupies only a short space in the history of the land, made some, but very little, improvement on the archaisms which show themselves on the seals of his father. For what beauty are we to find in the distorted figures of kings and horses, with the adjuncts of bridles and pectoralia or breast-bands, shields of kite shape, shirts of mail, conical helmets and headgear, lance-flags and pennons and the miscellaneous apparatus of the Norman warrior, each detail of which is more or less out of harmony with the canons of correct drawing? What costume is shown is scanty and confused; there seems to be an underdress with close-fitting sleeves, and an ample mantle or cloak, much the same, in fact, as the dress which is illustrated in the Bayeux tapestry, with which it agrees in the main. It should be noted by those who study the seals of the two Williams, that the son, probably out of a desire to

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KING WILLIAM II, CALLED RUFUS

avoid confusion between the seal of his father and himself in after ages, when the types which they respectively used would not be always remembered, places on each side of the throne on which he is set a small circular plaque or roundel, charged with a sixfoil, or ornamental rosette of six leaves, somewhat after the style of what was afterwards known as a sixfoil rose *en soleil*. This is probably the earliest royal badge which is known to heraldry. Its form still remains, and is found recurring continually in Norman sculptures, and, indeed, its presence there is often a valuable aid toward the discovery of the true age of an architectural or fine art relic of this period. William II.'s seal, of which only one type has been noted, introduces the formula *Dei Gratia* on the legend. This has been kept in use with rare exception, on the coinage and seals of our sovereigns, down to the present day, but few who read them now on their money can point to William II. as the first king who accepted the words for his seal. It is curious that several of the later historians of England have figured seals for William II. which never existed, or at any rate are no longer extant. It is not improbable, that these authors have drawn on their imagination in their endeavour to complete the imperfect designs of broken seals which they had met with.

Henry I., a great monarch of many virtues, may be safely credited with no less than four different Great Seals, and the old writer, Sandford, whose work deserves much more study than is usually given to it, illustrates a doubtful fifth, to which the above remarks may well be applied. Here, again, the archaism of the two preceding kings still lingers. We see the chin-straps, the sword of justice, the mound, or orb, with its long cross, symbolising Christianity and Religion, the warhorse in his proud step, the armoured shirt, the conical helmet, the lance-flag, the kite-shaped shield, the ornamental *pectorale* on the horse's breast, and other details, which are simply reproductions of those which have done duty on the seals

of his predecessors,—all eminently reminiscent of the age to which they belong. Hence these seals afford most valuable evidence regarding the nature of armour, both for man and horse, which was in fashion in the early Norman period. Writers on the history of this armour, both foreign and English literati of recognised merit, have not been slow to examine, and dwell upon, the *minutiæ* of all these paraphernalia. By means of these representations, many a doubtful point of antiquity and use has been made clear. Henry I. does not appear to have assumed the title of Duke of the Normans on all his seals. On one of them the title certainly occurs, and it has been explained by the consideration that after the celebrated Battle of Tinchebrai, in 1106, the elder brother of the king, Robert, Duke of Normandy, was taken prisoner, and Henry assumed the title borne up to that time by the ill-starred Robert, who languished out his life in misery and disgrace.

To Henry I. succeeded the military genius Stephen, of whom two types of Great Seal have been preserved. They are thought to be very nearly as primitive as those which had marked the epochs of his predecessors, with some amount of variation in minute points of detail. The art certainly demonstrates very little improvement. It is bizarre and immature, with very mediocre excellence either of work or drawing with which to recommend itself to the artist; but, nevertheless, we may learn something from it. The occurrence of the badge in William II.'s seal has been mentioned: in Stephen's second seal we find another badge; a star, or *estoile* as heralds love to call it, of seven rays, or points, is introduced between the head of the king and the sword of justice which he holds up in his right hand. The regnal period of Stephen was divided by the short period when Mathildis or Maud, Empress of Germany or Queen of the Romans, held the royal reins of power in the land, between 1141 and 1143. The seal of this royal lady, as well as the seals of other Norman kings of England, have

all formed the subjects of separate treatises in Journals of Archæological Societies, and it has been suggested that the second moiety of Stephen's reign may possibly mark the use of the second type of his seal, but the *fasti* of the twelfth century are, in many years, unsatisfactory, and the age of Stephen, with his numerous conflicts, still requires to have its chronology unravelled and rectified.

Mathildis, the daughter of Henry I., and wife of Henry V., titular King of the Romans (an expression which we may here take as equivalent to 'Emperor of Germany,' but not to 'German Emperor'), the undoubted heir to the throne of England, if the contested principle of female succession be admitted, made every possible endeavour to obtain possession of her birthright, the English throne, which those of her adherence, and they were many, claimed for her heritage. Her wars with Stephen form the subject of many a burning line penned by the chroniclers of her time. They were waged with chequered successes, and the fortune of the day swayed now this way and now that for many a year, while the fields of the midland and southern counties were reddened with the blood of the opposed combatants. Their continual occurrence left the empress-queen but little time to have thought for a seal to signalise her temporary recovery of the kingdom, although she was crowned Queen of England at Winchester, on the 3rd of March 1141, by Bernard, the papal legate and Bishop of St. Davids, assisted by a goodly array of prelates and barons. This coronation entitles Mathildis to a place on the list of England's sovereigns, but there are few historical writers who have been sufficiently accurate to assign her a place of this dignity. The want, or absence, of a Great Seal for this queen accounts for her using the seal which she possessed as German consort royal, Queen of the Romans, to which her marriage had given her right. Few charters, or public documents, have been preserved of this historical personage. They are issued from expressed various English and foreign places, after the

method in use at the time, but like that method also, are unfortunately wanting in expressed chronology, and it is by their intrinsic references, and by the names of the personages which they contain, that we can alone fix the exact period of their issue. It is, however, known that she employed three several styles of dignity, whereby she was designated as the 'Empress daughter of King Henry,' the same with addition of 'Lady of the English,' and after the coronation at Winchester in the year above-mentioned the title of 'Queen' was substituted for 'Lady.' The design shows the Empress on a throne, after the early German fashion, and calls for no special remarks. Very few of these seals remain, and they are indistinct and badly preserved.

Henry II., her successor, employed two genuine seals, and there are forgeries of seals which have been placed to his account. But close inspection condemns them. Here the Norman art of the seal-maker, poor as it ever was, appears to be sadly fallen. The design is weak, the drawing incorrect, the execution inferior to all that has gone before. Even the archaic seals of the earlier part of the century were attractive in comparison with these. It was a period of military activity, and arts and sciences were relegated to neglect and oblivion. Yet even here a careful examination of the king's second seal reveals a peculiarity which, while small in itself and easily overlooked, gave really the first slight indication that the period of Gothic art was about to supervene upon the now effete styles known as Byzantine and Norman. Hitherto the kind of letter used in the legends or inscriptions on Royal Seals had been that known as the Roman capital, but here the H in the king's name, at the beginning of the legend, takes the Gothic or Lombardic form, while all the rest of the lettering still retains the Roman capital letter. This was, it is true, but a minute and apparently insignificant matter, but it pointed the hand of time unmistakably to the impending onrush of Gothic art, which was to oust

Byzantine art from its proud and almost universal pre-eminence. On his seals, Henry calls himself 'King of the English, Duke of the Normans and Aquitanians, and Count of the Angevins,' titles which he had inherited from his family connections. The conquest of Ireland, in 1171, does not seem to have suggested that that fact should be set forth on the king's style upon the seal. The unfilial conduct of his son, Henry Junior, who had been crowned at Westminster in 1170, at the early age of fifteen years, and received the royal command to govern the land during the absence of the king abroad, stands out prominently in the history of this time. He was crowned for the second time with his wife, Margaret of France, at Winchester in 1173, and his seal, of which there is one specimen at least still in existence, follows the *motif* of the French royal seals of the period. Here, again, modern historians are remarkable for their omission of this young king's name in the *fasti* of England's rulers. Fortunately, perhaps, the untimely death of Henry Junior, during the lifetime of his father, Henry II., relieved the country of many misfortunes, as it is most probable that his failure to show respect to his father indicated a want of that mental character which those whose lot it is to govern others ought to make manifest.

Richard I.'s two Great Seals are of much interest; the beginnings of a new art are foreshadowed, and although the effigy of the royal personage shows much the same kind of treatment as is seen in preceding seals, yet there is an undoubted progress in the art, which is casting off the old archaism of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and gradually opening up the improvements of the Gothic mode. Here we may observe the more natural fall of the folds of drapery, the more elaborate work on the throne, and the better success of the artist in delineating the features of the king. It has been thought that there is a feeling akin to the old traditions of Romanesque art in some of the parts of this seal. In the field, at the sides of the king's head, are set the crescent moon enclosing

the sun-star or estoile, one of the most favourite emblems of the seal-engraver, who introduced them into almost every kind of seal in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The symbolism attaching to this beautiful object is as varied as its use. In some seals the meaning is evidently the open air and sky, after the fashion of Greek painters and ceramists, who by making use of the canon which allows the part to represent the whole, would introduce a shell, a cuttlefish, or a seaweed, to represent the seashore; a bird, a rosette, or a branch, to stand for a garden or a wood, and so forth. Here the crescent moon and sun-star may point appropriately to the heavens, the 'Grace of God,' set over and pre-eminently protecting the wellbeing of the king. At each side of the throne is a wavy sprig of foliage, drawn in a conventional manner, which some of those who look for sentiment in a Great Seal interpret to mean the *Planta genista*, or Broom-plant, the chosen flower of the family, to which has been attached, with more or less accuracy, the surname *Plantagenet*, now generally abandoned as without sufficient evidence of its ancient use. Whatever the flower, or plant, may be, it certainly adds the charms of grace and beauty to the seal, and helps to fill a background which would have been bare without it. Love of flowers is not confined to members of royal families, but we may point to the rose, the thistle, and the shamrock of our own lands, the French fleur-de-lis; and the marguerite, the pink, the pomegranate, the primrose, the white heather, and other similar plants, which have ever been associated with the highest families of this and other lands. Heraldry first makes its entry among us in the Great Seals of Richard I. The first seal shows a bowed or convex shield, only partly visible, charged with the figure of a lion rampant turned to the sinister. In this some old writers have concluded that if the shield had been delineated fully charged, it would have shown two lions rampant in fess, or two lions rampant combatant, that is, face to face. It is only a conjecture, but would

not he who bore the proud sobriquet of '*Cœur de Lion*,' 'Lion-heart,' be more likely to be contented with a single lion? Noteworthy, too, in the seals, is the commingling of the Lombardic forms of capital letters with the sterner shapes of the Roman lapidary characters, A, E, and H passing into Gothic shapes, while the rest adhere to the older form. The art of heraldry was making rapid strides in this reign, for the second seal, made to supply the loss of the first in the sea, substitutes for the single lion in the shield, the new armorial bearings of the realm of England, which, from 1197 to this day, have ever been associated with the reigning family—the 'three lions passant guardant in pale,' that is, arranged after the manner of an heraldic 'pale,' one above the other. The only occasion of the disuse of these arms occurs in the time of the Republic, or Commonwealth, when the cross of St. George took the place of the lions, just as the cross of St. Andrew took the place of the Scottish lion, while the harp of Ireland retained its place undisturbed. The royal crest, the lion, eventually became the lion statant guardant crowned which now constitutes the king's crest.

King John used a seal which indicates further progress on the side of beauty and improvement in drawing and grouping. His reign ushered in the new thirteenth century, which yields to none in the attractive grace of almost every art relic we have that can be attributed to that epoch. The Latin capital letters of the legend give way to further alteration into Lombardic forms, and the whole seal declares the general amelioration of the arts which came into England from various quarters at this time. Imported styles of representation, the natural result of that closer acquaintance with Italy and the East which had taken place, were more pleasing to the fancy, and the native manner had to succumb to the force of a superior power inherent in the best productions of the countries with which the English had come into contact. King John is the first English sovereign

who called himself 'Lord of Ireland,' and it was not until the reign of Henry VIII. that this title was altered into 'King of Ireland,' which still forms a component part of the royal style of our kings. Henry III., in his long reign of upwards of fifty years, almost monopolised the remaining years of this century. The first of his two Great Seals, which appears to have lasted for forty years, shows further improvement in ornamental detail. Carved foliage and heads of animals are introduced. There is an almost classical folding of the drapery, like that on the dress of the Greek warriors in the frieze of the Parthenon. The arched neck and well-drawn mane of the horse, which point to the corresponding details seen on that ancient masterpiece, and the calm repose of all the subsidiary parts, unite to render this seal far and away the finest that had yet appeared. To this succeeds the second seal, in use for the last thirteen years of the king's reign, which shows progress, but has been thought by some not to exhibit so much beauty, nor to claim so much admiration, as the first. But it is not lacking in points of interest. Note the ornamental architecture of the throne, with elaborated back and decorated standards. Note also the small lions at the side of the throne, which may perhaps be looked on as the forerunners of the 'supporters,' with which the royal armorials were later enhanced by the heralds. A third seal, of not so large dimensions, appears to have been used about 1263 and 1264, and a 'seal of absence' (a kind of seal the use of which was imitated from France) has been discovered in comparatively recent times. This was of so fine a character, even commanding the admiration of the seal-engravers of its own day, that it was still retained by Henry's successor, who altered the king's name to his own.

For the purposes of this work we may take the seals of Edward I. and II. together, because the second king of this name adopted his father's seal, and simply added to the obverse, on each side of the throne, a conventional castle, derived from the charge in the shield of arms of

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ROYAL SEALS OF ENGLAND

KINGS HENRY III, EDWARD I, AND EDWARD III

the Kingdom of Castile, one of the quarterings in the armorial bearings of his august mother, Queen Eleanora of Castile, daughter of King Ferdinand III. The obverse of this Edwardian seal resembles, in some respects, that of Henry III.'s second seal, but the reverse is new. The horse is provided with caparisons, which cover it almost entirely. These caparisons are charged, after the fashion of the day, with the three lions of England reversed as they are determined rightly to be in their representation, that is, with the heads pointing to the right hand of the spectator, instead of to the left hand, as they would if they were the charges of a shield.

Edward III., whose long reign in the fourteenth century compares, curiously enough, with that of Henry III. in the thirteenth, occupies the culminating period of the art of the royal seal-engravers, for not very long after his day signs of decadence begin to creep into the work. This king, during the progress of his life, used many seals, and they have formed the subject of more treatises than one at the hands of eminent antiquaries. It has been recorded that as many as eight Great Seals were in use during the reign, two of which, after the French manner of diplomacy, which we have already seen in operation with Henry III.'s chancery, were 'seals of absence,' attached to documents issued during the government of the kingdom while the king himself was absent, the others being 'seals of presence,' and in use for documents which had received direct royal authority.

The first of this series is merely the Great Seal of Edward I., which had already become distinguished by Edward II.'s introduction of the Castles of Castile. Time pressing, the making of a new seal was a matter of many months, and to obviate the difficulty this seal was further enriched with the addition of another badge, a fleur-de-lis, on each side of the king's figure, just above the castles. As Edward II. had made so courteous an allusion to Spain, his maternal point of origin, so here the queen-mother, Isabella of France, is delicately symbolised.

Ten months, however, seems to have been the limit of use of this adaptation, and the second seal then introduced was in use until 1340. It is of a new design : the fleur-de-lis badge was retained, and the very beautifully designed Gothic throne in this seal renders it a prominent relic among the Great Seals of England. To this must be joined the third seal, which rejected the canopy, and had other points of novelty in its design and peculiarities in its workmanship. Being a 'seal of absence,' it was used alternately with the second, during the years 1338-1340, according to the several periods when the king was out of the realm. The badge is altered into three lions of England placed on each side of the throne, with tails of remarkable shape. The fourth seal had a very short existence. Its use appears to have been confined to the year 1340. The elegant canopy of this is one of the best details. The title of 'King of France,' '*Rex Franciæ*,' is here added to the king's style, and the Royal arms of that kingdom have been correctly added by the heralds to the shield of arms and other armorials. The fifth seal in point of order, which was the second 'seal of absence,' used from time to time, as occasion demanded, between 1340 and 1360, is noteworthy for the excessive development of the so-called Gothic architecture, purely fanciful, of the throne, which is an intricate creation of panelled tracery, enriched with turrets, gables, pinnacles, shafts, and niches. Behind the embattled parapet which closes this composition at the top, are two curious half-length figures of men-at-arms, in armour, on guard, as it were, over the king's safety and his shields of arms. Yet another seal, the fourth of the royal presence, and the sixth in order of making, is not very unlike the foregoing, but there is this striking variation, that the half-length men-at-arms are bending down very low over the crenellated battlements, and the drawing of the figures is not so accurate as it might be ; hence their forms are difficult to make out, and some students of seals have failed to notice them, or fancied that they represent something else.

The finest seal of this fine series, and, indeed, with truth it may be said, the finest seal that ever graced the royal dignity, was now about to appear. Those that had preceded it had led up to it by various steps of improvement. It was in use from 1360 to 1369, the highest period of the Gothic art in England, and from the circumstance that, at the *Peace of Brétigny*, the king of England had consented to renounce the assumption of his title to be '*King of France*,' in favour of the *de facto* king, and thus a new seal had become necessary in which these obnoxious words should stand no longer, this has been called the *Brétigny seal*. Although the finest, nevertheless it is perhaps the most commonly occurring of all the seals of Edward III., on account of the frequency of its use. It measures about four inches and a half, and the field of the obverse is replenished to the full with a large amount of miscellaneous detail. The whole scene, so to speak, is arranged symmetrically, on a kind of Gothic frame, composed of carved tabernacle work. The several objects include a most elaborately carved and canopied throne of majesty, niches of finely cut work, and panels of nicely proportioned dimensions, wherein are placed figures of the Virgin Mary and the Child, St. George of England, men-at-arms, and the royal lion. On the reverse is shown the king as military leader riding in all his war panoply and armorial accoutrements at speed on his richly caparisoned charger. Near the hilt of the upraised sword is a small oak-leaf or trefoil, set in the field, which may be perhaps the private mark of the artist-designer or goldsmith to whom the making of this matrix had been entrusted, but if so, it has left no clue by which we can now ascertain his name or the record of his handiwork. Here, too, we may note the discarding of the now old-fashioned capital Lombardic letter, which had supplanted the Latin capital, and had to yield in turn to the old English or black letter alphabet. But the seal, beautiful as it is, and abundant in every respect with English feeling, strikingly attractive as an object of anti-

quarian admiration, became out of harmony with the progress of time, and was rendered inaccurate by the course of events, because the peace with France, which it really commemorated, had come to an end; the resumption of hostilities, leading to the renewal of the use of the title of '*King of France*,' necessitated that the king's style should appear on the seal with the words '*Rex Franciæ*' added to it. The design, however, was left untouched, for it could scarcely have been improved, and the arms of France in the shields which had not been interfered with when the words were omitted from the title, now stood for the asserted kingship over that foreign realm, whereas hitherto they had only harmlessly pointed to the king's royal French descent. Richard II.'s goldsmiths saw no need for improving this matrix; they simply altered the first three letters of the name from *Edwardus* to *Ricardus*, as they similarly did in regard to the sixth seal of Edward already mentioned (wherein the stooping figures of the watchmen are delineated) which was employed for his French affairs. Henry IV. again alters this seal by substituting the royal Christian name for that of his predecessor, and he used it until 1408, in which year a new matrix was made of gold, and this was used until the king's death. It is a splendid example of goldsmith's design and work, and being of the highest excellence in every way, has usually been chosen to illustrate the pre-eminence of English art in this era. The same idea of a Gothic framework subsists in the design, which is divided into numerous vertical sections with accompanying niches and canopies, and enshrines a grand total of twenty-one figures, as well as the charges on the shields and banners. These comprise, among others, representations of the Virgin and Child; a crowned king; a martyr holding his palm-branch of victory; Michael the Archangel militant; St. George of England vanquishing the dragon of prehistoric pagandom; St. Edward Confessor, king and ancestor royal; St. Edward, king and martyr; celestials; soldiers; lions; the admitted Evan-

REVERSE OF GOLDEN SEAL, USED 1408-1448

KINGS HENRY IV, HENRY V, AND HENRY VI

gelistic emblems, viz. an angel, a winged lion, a winged ox, and an eagle; and so forth. In this seal it is that the *semé-de-lis*, a regular arrangement of fleurs-de-lis after the manner known as the *quincunx*, in the shield of the royal arms of *France Ancient*, is here superseded by the arms attributed to *France Modern*, viz. three fleurs-de-lis arranged 'two and one' (heraldically signifying two above and one below in the shield). This peculiarity had been occasionally used as long ago as 1280, but its more extended use begins to date from its inclusion in this seal. The reverse of this beautiful seal has been further enriched by the introduction of elegant foliated sprigs and arabesque sprays to fill up the background. This seal in many respects is a rival of the Brétigny seal. Its numerous points of excellence make it a worthy compeer of the latter. Each of them has its own intrinsic excellence, but this is later in point of date, and belongs to a period when there was arising a taste for florid rather than chaste and simple effect. Herein is reflected the so-called Perpendicular style of architecture, which in the early years of the fifteenth century was in bounds which restrained its inordinate growth that is shown in examples created at the end of the same century.

The numerous figures and abundant richness of symbolism which replenish the sides of this seal, are not mere haphazard fancies of the designer. Each has its meaning, which speaks, silently but not the less eloquently, to those who read it aright, but to most now they stand as enigmas, and need explanation. That they had a political signification to convey, and a lesson to teach, is quite obvious. One of the most careful writers on the Great Seals of England, whose recent death is much to be deplored, Mr. Allan Wyon, discovers in the work the desire of impressing on the mind of the people the claim of Henry IV. to occupy the English throne by reason of his descent from Henry III., and, while holding his crown by success in arms and national election, at the same time preferring to defend his position by relying

on the genealogical fact of his royal blood derived through Prince Edmund, son of the earlier king. With this object in view, Henry IV. may have wisely so arranged the emblems of his own proper Great Seal (as opposed to the seal of Edward III., which had been borrowed for the earlier years of his reign) to point to Henry III., whose *cultus* of St. Edward and St. Edmund was well known, and to whom the king looked for support in return for his veneration of them. 'He had named his sons after them, he had rebuilt Westminster Abbey in honour of the Confessor, and thither was carried to his last resting-place on the feast of St. Edmund; and the banners of these two English Saints had been borne in his son's battles beside the royal banners of the realm.'

The seals of Henry V. need not detain us long, they are merely a continuation of Henry IV.'s. Henry VI. also employed the same, but, curiously enough, he introduced a very small quatrefoil on the reverse of the silver Brétigny matrix. The affairs in France and this king's territories there, which occupied so large an amount of the king's time, necessitated the making of other Great Seals, and they appear to have been made in France after French types, with the suitable alteration of the Royal style to 'Francorum et Anglie Rex.' Edward IV.'s seals, of inferior imitation, and striving to modify the accurate proportions of the Brétigny seal, clearly mark the commencement of degeneration, which was to pave the way for the total abandonment of Gothic art in favour of the Italian Renaissance. The balance of design is not well kept in these latter seals; too much space is given to subordinate detail, while the royal figure is reduced in size, and other alterations not for the better, gradually show the change in the times. The fashionable introduction of plate armour, superseding the hauberk of mail, also called for a new seal, so that the king's effigy on the symbol of his authority should be in keeping with the times. It is interesting to notice, that the second seal of Edward IV., which is considered to be superior to the first, perpetuates

1. KING HENRY VI. 2ND SEAL FOR FRENCH AFFAIRS. 1429-1440
2. HENRY VI. 3RD SEAL (OF ABSENCE) FOR FRENCH AFFAIRS. 1423

a curious fact of historical moment. At the battle of Mortimer's Cross, which took place on 2nd February 1461, the king beheld certain 'mock-suns' or *parhelia* in the sky, a favourable omen of paramount augury, as has been testified by Shakespeare, who sings of the 'three fair-shining suns' which the king declared he would bear on his target. These celestial omens have been introduced into the seal, where several suns in radiance are to be observed. Henry VI.'s 'Recovery of Royal Power' from October 1470 to April 1471, caused a corresponding alteration of royal name in the matrix of Edward's Great Seal which fell into his hands, but the recovery lasted for a very short period, and Edward IV., after restoration, used three seals of inferior merit, one of which may well have been used for the affairs of France, as has been conjectured from the occurrence of fleurs-de-lis as stops dividing the words of the legend, and because the only impression known is that appended to the Treaty of Amiens, 29th August 1475.

The ill-fated Edward V. of transient rule, and the much maligned Richard III., used seals that call for no great amount of description. The art they exhibit accentuates the decadent expression of the national taste. Henry VII. seems to have taken one of the later seals of Edward IV. for the model of his seal, and perhaps in some places improved on it; and he also had a second seal, of which, like the seal of Henry VI. above mentioned, there is found but one impression, and that attached also to a Treaty. This shows, by its heraldic display, that it was reserved for French affairs.

The sixteenth century had been ushered in before the accession of Henry VIII., and his seals faithfully reflect the rapid movements of the popular mind in that eventful epoch. First of the royal seals is the continued use of Henry VII.'s seal, with insertion of two royal badges, viz. a lion rampant for England, and a fleur-de-lis for France, at the head and tail of the warhorse. Then comes the last Gothic Great Seal of England, which, after all, is no

mean specimen of the beauty which this Gothic architecture had exhibited at its best when handled by a master craftsman. But it is not Gothic unalloyed, for there are details in the gartered shields of arms, the shapes of the crowns, the forms of the letters in the legend, and other small matters, which point to the wavering taste of the artist. 'Fidei Defensor,' that proud title conferred by the Pope upon the king for his militant Catholicism,—a pious young Prince when first beginning public life, who had been destined to hold the highest office of the Church had not an adverse fate prematurely snatched away his elder brother from the world, and diverted from the channels of religion to the arena of disturbed politics and domestic instability the noble aspirations of a really great mind—was added to the royal style in the legend. This seal was first used in 1532, which year seems to mark the period of change between the styles.

The king's third seal, with its Renaissance canopy flat-headed oval arch, triangular classic pediment, and numerous other details of construction, indicates the total rout of the old conventional forms, and the thoroughness with which the new style had triumphed over the old. Notice also the portentous style adopted by the king, who had turned away from the church and the faith which at one time looked to him as their divinely appointed 'defender.' 'Supreme Head on Earth of the English and Irish Church' means much more than is apparent at first. It is the keynote to much of the barbarity with which the annals of the time overflow, it lights up again in our imagination the fatal fires of Smithfield, and throws a lurid glare over the sanguinary butchery of misguided fanatics and the obstinately orthodox, or unorthodox. It has been shown in a recent essay on Seals that the Golden Bulla or Seal, which was appended by Henry VIII. to the indenture of the 'Treaty of the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1527' is really a golden plaque, chased by a master-hand into the similitude of a seal. It bears a line of Latin verse:

'ORDINE JUNGUNTUR ET PERSTANT FEDERE CUNCTA,

which was appropriate enough for the occasion which called for its making, but the refined wit of Francis I., the other high-contracting party to the Treaty, who also caused a Golden Bulla to be attached to his part of the indenture, turned the hexameter into an elegiac distich, and gave it the savour of a classical epigram by inscribing his bulla with the second or pentameter line:

'PLURIMA SERVANTUR FEDERE CUNCTA FIDE.'

This century was the age of epigrams, and a keen study of the classics was rising in all directions with the better classes. This is abundantly manifest in the literature of the period, and the above distich proclaims it.

The seals of the next sovereigns are but mediocre. Edward VI., Mary, Philip and Mary, and Elizabeth, so far as the queen's first seal is concerned, appear to have been served by artists and seal-engravers of very moderate talent. The Virgin Queen, however, had a second seal, in 1586, which was in use until her death in 1603, surpassing in dimensions and style these commonplace forerunners. It measures about five and a half inches, and is replete with curious details. The royal portraiture, the ruffled collar, the hooped petticoat strutted stiffly out, the embroidered fabric of the drapery, the divine hands and rays issuing from the heavens, and other peculiarities, constitute a remarkable array of emblems and oddities, and form a discordant whole. For the first time, a new badge, the crowned harp of Erin, takes its position among the royal adjuncts, and this is more noteworthy because the queen's special seal for Ireland bears the uncrowned harp, an oversight on the part of the maker.

James I.'s seals mark, by their armorial bearings, the changes in the royal arms of the realm rendered necessary by the uniting of the crowns of England and Scotland upon one head. Here, too, the banner of fanciful arms invented by the heralds for Cadwallader, last king

of the Britons, to whom they fondly imagined the genealogy of James I. should point,—the common ancestor, albeit far remote, of the royal houses of both England and Scotland—finds a place. And the greyhound at full speed at the side of the horse probably is significant of the supposed rapidity of the king's military movements against his enemies. A slight alteration was required in this seal, for it was found that the features of the king projected in such high relief, that the flat canopy was insufficient to protect it from being injured, and a more prominent bell-shaped baldachin was cut in the matrix so as to obviate this. The '*Magnæ Britanniæ*' formula in Charles I.'s seal gave place to the more usual phrase of '*Angliæ, Franciæ*' in his second seal of the year 1627. It is only in comparatively recent times that the first seal has been described in the series of royal seals. The second introduces the innovation of a landscape view in the background of the equestrian side, where London town is delineated from the southern bank of the river, with the Bridge and shipping, while the northern heights loom like lofty mountains in the far distance. This view of the capital is found in succeeding seals, until, in George III.'s time, it gives place to a view of Windsor Castle.

The third seal of Charles I., made in 1640, goes back to the '*Magnæ Britanniæ*' style, and it has been thought that it owes its origin to the fact of the style in the second being incorrect. There is yet a fourth seal, of 1643, a copy of the preceding one, engraved by the celebrated Thomas Simon, whose medals are the admiration of collectors and the despair of modern numismatic die-sinkers. The bizarre seal of the Commonwealth, 1648, 'The First Yeare of Freedome by God's Blessing Restored,' must not be omitted here, for it is a strangely fancied design of substituting, for the hated effigy of a sovereign, a map of the realms of England, Wales, and Ireland, powdered plenteously with hundreds of names of places, and furnished with ships of war in the sur-

rounding seas—an ingenious way of representing 'the Commons' by the names of the places from which they spring. The reverse shows a view of the interior of the Parliament House in session, with a member in the act of addressing the assembly. Simon, the engraver of this also, received what was then a large sum for the work, but it is a miserable piece of work, and is really a medal, not a seal. A copy or replica was made of this, with alterations to suit the date. Oliver returns to the horseman type with his family arms on an escutcheon on a shield of the Republican arms of the realm on the reverse. The lions of England and Scotland in the quarterings gave offence and were removed. The crest is a lion passant guardant crowned, the supporters a crowned lion and a dragon which Mr. Wyon finds on 'seals of the Lord Chief Justices of England for many preceding years.' The short-lived Richard adopted much the same design. Charles II. and James II. favoured classical types; that of James II. is interesting for its romantic adventures, having been fished up in a net from the River Thames, between Westminster and Lambeth, where the king cast it on his ignominious flight from the kingdom in 1688, and delivered to the Privy Council, who handed it to William III. This king and his consort Mary II. seem to have had Philip and Mary's seal in view when their seal was being projected. Curious to say, the name of Scotland, and the heraldry appurtenant to that kingdom, were omitted from the seal, probably for cogent reasons, because it was not until after the seal had come into use that the Estates of Scotland caused these sovereigns to be declared King and Queen of Scotland. Anne's seal is also medallic; Piety and Justice appear thereon, in conventional personifications. The second seal of the queen, 1707, is even more medallic and allegorical than the first. Britannia is seated on a rock beneath beetling crags, posing as a classic divinity with spear and oval shield of the royal arms of the two kingdoms, England and Scotland, now united, impaled

after the approved heraldic method which 'dimidiates the tressure of the northern kingdom but not the lion which it encloses.

The Brunswick line now at length, in the early part of the eighteenth century, comes into the scope of the seal-engraver, who has become so much influenced by the medallist, that the native talent for seals has been hopelessly stifled. In the Georgian seals we see nothing beyond pseudo-classicism: the monarch seated in majesty attended by the personifications of all kingly virtues; Power and Might, Justice, Religion, and Piety, protect him benignly but vacantly; Envy, Hatred, and Malice, three rolled into one—possibly a hint at the Stuart Pretender—sprawls below the throne of George II. and grasps the serpent of Subtlety. The first seal of the many used in George III.'s reign introduces the face of the king in profile, which was an innovation, but scarcely for the better, and the weakness of the designer is markedly shown by the want of good proportion of the royal effigy. This king's fourth seal perpetuates the union of Great Britain and Ireland by an alteration of the shields of arms. The armorial bearings and name of France are finally abandoned, after a period of use extending for nearly five hundred years, ever since the victorious campaigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This is generally acknowledged to be a generous change, now that the British possessions in French territory have dwindled down again to the Channel Islands and nothing more, a small remnant of the Duchy of Normandy swayed by the Conqueror of 1066, who was prouder of the possession of his duchy than he was of the realm of England. The fifth seal of George III. deserves much attention. It perpetuates the assumption anew of the remarkable title of 'Supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland.' This title, which had been invented by Henry VIII. and then represented the dissensions between England and the Vatican, was retained by Edward VI., but afterwards

abandoned. Why George III. took the title up again it is difficult to say, because there was no question at issue in his reign which such words could have affected. Another point to be noticed is that the legend, as in William the Conqueror's seal, and Oliver and Richard Cromwell's seals, begins on the side where the horseman is placed, and concludes on the side of the enthroned figure. It is equally difficult to declare why this was done. There is a palm-branch lying on a rudder of antique form in the exergue. It refers to the naval victories of the year when the seal was made, 1815, and points back proudly to Trafalgar, after the manner above mentioned where the whole is represented by a part. George IV.'s seal gives a profile portrait of the king, and the group on the reverse savours of the medallist rather than of the seal-engraver. It has been said that the allegory here delineated is reminiscent of the art of Flaxman and Blake. Nevertheless it is foreign to the true canons of sigillography. William IV.'s seal is a hideously incorrect design, with shipping in full sail close to the wall of a quay on the edge of which the king is riding in great pomp. Here is set a trident enhanced with a laurel crown, which points to victories over the enemies of Great Britain on the high seas and to the naval office of Lord High Admiral, which the king had formerly filled.

The Great Seals of Queen Victoria, copies successively of one after the other, are not without faults, one of which is very evident, the smallness of the sovereign's head as compared with that of the attendant page. Her Majesty's last seal was an entirely new departure from everything that had gone before. But the time has not yet come to criticise it, and it may be safely left to a later age for discussion.

And now, having pointed out all the salient points of interest exhibited by the series of Great Seals of England, we can look back and consider what has been found in them. We have seen the rude beginnings of

art in the seals of the Anglo-Saxons; the gradual rise of the Norman elements during the period ruled over by William I. to Henry II.; the Early English improvements down to the fine period of Henry III.; the architectural types from Edward I. to Henry VIII.; a long vista of years, with its best specimen in the Brétigny matrix and its decadence in the reign of Richard III.; the Palladian renaissance of the Tudors; then the Jacobean and other Stuart medleys, characterised by the endeavour to attain, but in vain, to a classical ideal; the Commonwealth period of debasement; the medallic styles of Anne and the Georges; and the modern style which few can dare to admire. 'It is for posterity,' writes Mr. Wyon, 'to assign to this (modern) phase of imitative and composite art, adopted by the sovereigns of the Brunswick dynasty, its true place in comparison with the meritorious purity of some of the preceding styles.' The seal of our King, Edward VII., is figured in the present work, and our readers must be left to judge it for themselves. One point yet remains to be mentioned in connection with the use of the Great Seal of England. From the large size of these Great Seals, and other royal seals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, certain official documents of a purely formal nature, such as royal writs to sheriffs, and subpœnas, precipes and the like, which required ratification under the king's seal to make them operative in law, were sealed with a small lump of wax, about one or more inches in diameter, upon which was impressed only the head of the sovereign or some other easily recognisable portion of the design on the Great Seal, and this was accepted as a legal sealing. A good example of this practice may be seen at the British Museum, among the charters of the late Lord Frederick Campbell, No. I. 29, which is a writ by King James II. to the Sheriff of Stafford, dated 13th February, 4th year, 1688.

Seals of royal offices and officers naturally claim our attention after the consideration of the Great Seals of the

GREAT SEAL OF H.M. THE KING
(OBVERSE)

GREAT SEAL OF H.M. THE KING
(REVERSE)

sovereigns, and the first class of these is that of the Privy Seals, of which the known examples are not many, and the series is not perfect. Edward I. and succeeding kings used the shield of the royal arms of the realm of England with appropriate legends, signifying that the seal was the king's *secretum*. The fourteenth century added Gothic work to the simple design of the shield, which was ensigned with a crown and attended with supporters and badges, such as lions and ostrich feathers. James I. adopted in 1610 the *rose en soleil* also, but did not altogether discard the armorial *motif* to which he reverted in 1621. Charles I. followed the heraldic style, and added the garter with its motto, which was retained with small changes until Victoria, when the rose, thistle, and shamrock grafted on one stem was added to the regular design in use for these seals.

The Duchy of Lancaster, a royal possession and honour, had its own armorial bearings, and the seals represented this coat of arms with adjuncts of ostrich feathers, helmet, and crest. Henry VII., however, in 1490, departed from the set style of this device, and used the design of a horse's head, couped and bridled, *contournée*, with a feather and three stars in the field. The helmet and lion crest, however, were the usual additions to the shield of arms. James II.'s seal for this duchy had for the supporters of the shield two greyhounds sejant addorsed, each holding an ostrich feather labelled. George IV. altered this style to the design of the king himself in Majesty, between two royal supporters holding flags charged with the arms of Great Britain and of the duchy, with a branch bearing the triple emblems of rose, thistle, and shamrock. That of Victoria is very medallic in design, and represents on the obverse the Queen between two allegorical personifications of Faith and Justice, and above the throne an angel blowing two trumpets. At the sides are the royal supporters, holding armorially charged flags; on the reverse a return to the older design is made, and a

representation is given of the arms of the duchy, with helmet, chapeau of England with the royal lion crest, with the Lancaster label, and at the sides, as supporters, two ostrich feathers of conventional pattern. The County Palatine of Lancaster had for Queen Victoria a seal on which is an equestrian figure of the Queen, and in the field the rose of Lancaster, in the base a talbot courant on the one side, on the other an antique shield of the arms, with helmet, chapeau and lion crest, and feather supporters.

For the royal territories beyond the Tweed, Edward I. used, about 1292, a seal bearing on one side a beautifully designed shield of arms of England, suspended by the *enarme* or *guige* strap to a forked tree between two wyverns, within a Gothic panel of six cusps, on the other within a similar frame, a *bear* passant beneath a tree of three branches each of which consisted of as many boughs, perhaps intended for the *wych* elm or hazel, and thus forming a rebus on the name of the town of Berwick. Edward III. continued the same design, slightly different in some of the detail, and the fifteenth-century seal of the Henries also represented the same tableau, but with a more elaborate panel. For the town of Calais, and the lands adjacent that were in possession of the English Crown, Edward III., in 1331, used an equestrian seal, wherein the king sits on his horse and has the armorial bearings of France Ancient and England quarterly. To this is given a small counter-seal, after the French manner, bearing the design of a castle-gate or barbican, with three towers, gateway, and portcullis. Henry VIII., in 1512, used a seal of the equestrian type, and having the field thereof replenished with mullets or stars of five points, and cinquefoils; but on the reverse of this seal the king placed the small counter-seal of Edward IV. for a counter-seal of his own. This bears a fortress-gate with round towers at the sides, and portcullis, with a slipped rose at each side, and the legend appears to have undergone more than one altera-

tion, which thus renders the seal, of which only one example is known, appended to a document in the British Museum, a valuable political relic, reflecting the changes in the history of England and France.

Of royal signet seals many remain. The principal design of these was the shield of arms of England, or of England and France quarterly, according to the current heraldry of the time. Henry v. had the armorials of England on his signet; Richard III., France and England quarterly; Henry VIII., the royal arms between the initial letters H. R., in his first signet used in the year 1514, and into his second he introduced a rose, two portcullisses, a fleur-de-lis and Tudor rose for badges. Elizabeth's first signet bore the royal arms crowned and initial letters E. R., the later signet being not very different in detail. James I. had three signets. In that used in 1612 it is remarkable that his style is 'King of Great Britain, France and Ireland,' whereas in those used in 1613 and 1617, similar in the design of the shield of arms and initials, the style is 'King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland.' Charles I. puts the Garter round his royal arms. Oliver Cromwell, Protector, used the family arms of six quarterings, of which five are of Welsh origin. The three signets of Charles II. bear the royal arms crowned, and the Garter; and the style used the expression 'Great Britain.' James II., with the queen consort, Mary of Modena, used a crowned monogram; William and Mary, the Royal arms on a monogram; Anne has appropriate signets of arms for the Realm, before and after the union with Scotland. The Georges continued the use of the royal arms. The diameters of all these signets are not very great. They vary from half an inch to about one inch and a half.

The queens consort of English sovereigns have a very interesting and varied series of seals. One of the earliest extant is that of Mathildis, or Maud, of Scotland, the daughter of Malcolm Can-More, King of Scots, and first Queen of King Henry I. of England. This bears an

effigy of the Queen standing front face, wearing the remarkable attire of the early twelfth century: a long robe, a mantle fastened at the neck, long sleeves, and a crown fleury. In the hands a sceptre with carved handle, and a mound, or orb, the universal symbols of sovereignty. There is a good example of this seal preserved among the charters in Durham Cathedral Registry, appended to a deed the date of which is between 1100 and 1118. Two impressions of the seal of King Henry I.'s second queen, Aalidis, or Alice, of Brabant, daughter of Godfrey, first Duke of Brabant, are preserved in the British Museum: one appended to a charter of date a few years after 1135; the other, after 1138. The matrix of the seal of Queen Mathildis was used, but the legend was altered from *Mathildis* to *Aalidis*.

Queen Alianora or Eleanor, of Provence, daughter of Raymond Berengar, Count of Provence, had two seals, impressions of which are in the MSS. department of the British Museum. The first seal, used from 1255 to 1259, shows the Queen's figure crowned, wearing a loose dress and cloak, and holding two sceptres. She stands on a corbel, beneath which is a lion sejant guardant. This is a pointed oval seal of fine design, about $3\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in measurement. The reverse is equally artistic, and shows an elegant tree of three branches with a shield of the royal arms of England suspended from it by a strap. The queen is styled 'Queen of England, Lady of Ireland, Duchess of Normandy and Aquitaine, Countess of Anjou.' In her second seal, used in 1262, after the cession of the Duchy of Normandy to France, the style of 'Duchess of Normandy and Countess of Anjou' was omitted from the legend, if Sandford's testimony is to be accepted. This seal is also one of great beauty, and illustrates the improvement which had taken place in the art of engraving seals during the reign of Henry III. Here we notice a trefoiled Gothic canopy, adorned with small circular panels containing counter-

sunk quatrefoils and other details which mark progress. The seal of Alianora, or Eleanor, of Castile, first Queen of Edward I., and daughter of Ferdinand III. of Castile, shows the full-length royal effigy, crowned and bearing the ornamental sceptre of her rank. Into the field the heralds have introduced the Castle and the Lion, which form the charges of the armorial bearings of Castile and Leon, and under an arch at the base of the tableau is a lion of England. Here, too, the reverse bears a shield of the royal arms of England, hung up by an embroidered strap to a finely designed tree with three branches. Margaret, Princess of France, second Queen of Edward I., and daughter of Philip III. of France, used a seal whereon her standing figure, crowned and holding a sceptre, is draped in a robe charged with the arms of England, and set on a carved corbel between two trees each bearing a shield of arms, the dexter of France, the sinister of Brabant. The reverse is a fine example of the ingenuity of the heralds who have compounded, on a shield hanging from a tree of three branches, the arms of England surrounded by fourteen fleurs-de-lis in orle, in allusion to the royal arms of France. This example, 1299-1317, is an early one for this kind of heraldic technique. The French Consort had also a small signet, about an inch in diameter, bearing, within a rosace, a shield of arms of England and France impaled, and enhanced, by the introduction into the field of the seal, of the two lions rampant, which appertain to the queen's maternal arms of Brabant.

Isabella, Princess of France, daughter of King Philip IV., and Queen of our Edward II., added on her seal of 1307-1357, to the usual full-length effigy with fur cloak, crown, and sceptre, in a finely canopied niche, the appropriate heraldry of England on the dexter side, France Ancient impaling Navarre on the sinister, and in the base a lion's face of England in a circular panel. The small round reverse of this pointed oval seal bears on elegant foliage a remarkable shield of arms: quarterly, 1. England, 2. France Ancient, 3. Navarre, 4. Champagne.

Philippa, Queen Consort of Edward III., and daughter of William, the third count of Hainault, used in 1339 and 1355, a privy seal of heraldry whereon the arms of England and Hainault are quartered. Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV., and Queen of Richard II. of England, in 1390 and 1392, had a finely designed seal of tracery and foliage, whereon is a crowned shield of arms of France and England quarterly, impaling the German Empire quartering Bohemia. Queen Elizabeth Wydevile, consort of King Edward IV., had in 1467 a fine large seal, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, bearing elaborate heraldry, both royal and family coats, supported by the lion of March and the greyhound of Neville, all within a border of roses and estoiles. The seal of Queen Jane Seymour has been found comparatively recently. It is a fine specimen of the heraldic seal. Anne, Princess of Denmark, queen consort of James I., daughter of Frederic II. of Denmark, shows, in her seal of 1618, the decadence of sigillary art. The design is, as usual, the queen's effigy with sceptre and orb, attended by the heraldry of her royal spouse and her family. The same arms, impaled in one shield, are placed in the reverse on a mount, and supported by the lion of England and the wild woodman of Denmark. Queen Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henri IV. of France, consort of our Charles I., had, about 1625-1669, a seal showing her effigy with ermine cloak, sceptre fleurdelisé, and orb, under a curtained canopy with appropriate shields of arms at the sides. Her name is given on the legend as *Hennetta*. This large seal, of $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches diameter, has a counter-seal or reverse bearing a crowned lozenge-shaped shield of the royal arms of Great Britain, impaled with France and Navarre impaled. The supporters are: the lion rampant of England, and an angel, in armour, wearing a fringed tunic semé-de-lis, in allusion to France. Her signet was also armorial.

Queen Catherine of Braganza, consort of Charles II., daughter of João IV., King of Portugal, had, in 1662, a

large seal, about $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, bearing a representation of the Queen, wearing her royal robes, and with the sceptre and orb, standing on a dais with curtained baldachin upheld by cupids. The side-shields here are those of Great Britain and Portugal. This design is one of the works of the celebrated Simon, the medallist, and the medallic aspect of the seal is very distinctive of the change which had begun to operate with seal-engravers. On the reverse is a crowned shield of Great Britain and Portugal impaled, and supported by a lion and a wyvern. Her second seal, which bears the date of 1678, is distinguished for the Italian architecture of the curtained canopy supported by half-length figures beneath which is the queen's effigy in royal robes and crowned, holding sceptre and orb, with a cherub on each side, holding a shield of arms. The ornamental shield on the reverse bears an impalement of the royal arms of Great Britain and Portugal, with Charles II.'s supporters. Mary of Modena, daughter of Duke Alphonso, and consort of King James II., had a seal, bearing the date of 1685, on which is a representation of the Queen, crowned and robed, with a sceptre in each hand, standing on a dais beneath a canopy, over which is an eagle rising enguardant. At each side a cherub holds a carved oval shield of arms: the one of Great Britain, the other of the noble house of Este of Modena. Her signet, half an inch diameter, is lozenge-shaped, and bears a shield of the royal arms of Great Britain as then used, crowned, and set between her initials M. R.

CHAPTER III

SEALS OF ROYAL OFFICES AND OFFICERS

THE office of Steward and Marshal of the Royal Household was held in 1344 by Ralph de Stafford, whose official seal bears a shield of arms where the ingenious blending of the family coat of Stafford, a chevron, with the three lions of England, forms an excellent example of the herald's art in the fourteenth century. In 1426, John de Tiptoft, Baron Tiptoft and Powys, placed, on his official seal, a standard and flag, on which were the arms of his family, a saltire engrailed, all between three lions of England, and in a carved border. Below the flag is a caltrop, which indicates in some degree the duties of the office. The Coroner of the Royal Household had, in the fourteenth century, a seal bearing a shield of arms of a crowned wheel, and by its side a staff of office and a sprig of foliage. The Royal Court of the Exchequer has left us a fine but not quite complete series of official seals. Here King Edward I. used the equestrian type, with a shield of the royal arms on the reverse. Richard II., Henry IV., V., and VI., Edward IV. and Henry VII. used the same seal (upwards of three inches in diameter) with unimportant changes of name and addition (by Henry VI.) of a small fleur-de-lis. The obverse bears an equestrian figure, somewhat resembling that on the Great Seal, with the arms of France Ancient and England quarterly, the crest of England, and caparisons of arms. The reverse bears a double quatrefoil panel of very beautiful detail, wherein is set a shield of the above-mentioned arms, between three triple-towered castles, one above and one at each side of the shield. These seem to point to the maternal arms

of Castile, a change first introduced by Edward II. into his Great Seal. The legend is

'SIGILLUM · DE · SCACCARIO · DOMINI · REGIS.'

Henry VIII. had a copy, of inferior execution, of this very fine seal, wherein the arms of France Ancient are altered to France Modern, that is, three fleurs-de-lis in place of the semé-de-lis; plate armour substituted for mail; the position of the small fleur-de-lis added by Henry VI. changed; another added near the handle of the sword; and a lion passant contourné introduced into the base. The arms on the reverse are modernised, and the royal badge of a portcullis takes the place of a cross which was previously at the beginning of the legend.

This seal appears to have been used from 1509 to about 1543. After that year, the second seal was adopted, wherein may be observed the equestrian effigy of the king in armour, riding over a mount covered with herbage and flowers; the horse with plate armour and spiked frontale. The upper half of the field is diapered in small squares like a chessboard, *chequy*, alternately plain, and charged with a fleur-de-lis, in reference to the *Exchequer*. The royal badges, a portcullis between two fleurs-de-lis, are set at the beginning of the legend. The reverse is armorial, a crowned shield of arms supported by a heraldic antelope and a stag. In base a scroll bearing the appropriate title of the seal. The royal style commences on the obverse, and is carried on to the reverse where the latest form of the king's title as supreme head on earth of the Church of England and Ireland is given. Edward VI. used this seal with adaptation of the royal name. Philip and Mary represent themselves seated at the sides of a short column, on which is an orb and cross with one royal hand of each sovereign thereon. The reverse of this gives a shield of the arms of Spain and England impaled. Elizabeth had a finely designed seal for her Exchequer Court, bearing on the obverse a representation of the Queen enthroned, with

a shell-shaped canopy overhead; on the reverse, an ornamental crowned shield of arms royal on a mount of herbage and stones, supported by an heraldic antelope and a stag, each chained. The date of MDLIX. is introduced into the legend. James I. and Charles I. appear to have used a seal of somewhat similar design, but the details have not been fully ascertained. James II. has the design of the royal effigy beneath a canopy of Italian architecture with royal arms, cherub supporters and the field *chequy* with an English rose and French fleur-de-lis in the alternate squares. The reverse bears an ornamental shield of arms, with a goat and a stag, each chained, for supporters. The Lord Chamberlain's seal for correspondence is purely heraldic, and calls for no special notice.

The Privy Council has seals dating from the sixteenth century. That of Charles I., used in 1643, bears the rose, national badge of England, supported by a lion rampant guardant crowned, and a dragon, all within a carved border of foliage. The royal initials C. R. are placed at the sides of the crown, and the legend S·PRI·CON· explains the object of the seal. A few seals of the Parliament of the Commonwealth and of the Council of State appointed by the authority of the Parliament, show the armorial bearings which were employed in that brief period to supersede the shields of arms of England and Scotland. They are the work of the medallist Simon, and although elegant in proportion and design, cannot compare for charm and interest for a moment with the more ancient heraldry of the realms. Edward III.'s seal of office for the Receipt of the Royal Exchequer in England bears, within a carved cordon of ballflowers, a representation of the king's head, couped at the neck, and crowned, between two keys, symbols of the office, and in the base part of the design is a royal lion of England. The legend is explanatory of the functions of the seal.

The Royal Court of King's Bench for the judicial hearing of causes technically in the royal presence, 'pro

brevibus coram nobis,' is known to have used a fine series of seals from the time of Henry VI. These begin with a diameter of upwards of 2½ inches, and gradually increase in size under successive monarchs. That of Henry VI. has, on the one side, the effigy of the king enthroned; on the other, the royal arms on a shield, over which stand the badges of a leopard's face and two fleurs-de-lis. Henry VIII. improved on this design by enlarging the dimensions to four inches, with more elaboration of the sovereign's figure and details of the carved throne, and with introduction of the royal initials and royal badges. The reverse of this seal bears the royal arms supported by the crowned lion rampant guardant and the wyvern, with roses and fleurs-de-lis powdered over the field. The inscribed label bears a date, which appears to be 1543, but the unique impression in the British Museum is indistinct at this point. The later style used by the king is found in the legend. Edward VI.'s seal for this Court, designed much in the same way, is of interest because among the badges which are found in it is the harp of Ireland, which seems to have been discarded at a later period. That of Charles I. has an elegant design of the king enthroned, with accompaniment of badges, and the reverse has an ornamental shield and supporters. The Commonwealth seal, in accordance with the passing wave of republicanism which strove, but in vain, to destroy all traces of regality, depicts the interior of the House of Parliament in session, but retains in base a shield of arms of the Commonwealth between two palm-branches of martyrdom! The reverse of this seal gives a map of Great Britain and Ireland, accompanied with the new-fangled arms of the Commonwealth, but the ancient arms of Ireland are retained, with remarkable inconsistency. The legend declares this to be the seal of the 'Upper Bench,' as the Court was so designated during the kingless period. Charles II. reverted to the royal type of enthroned king with gartered arms and royal badges.

The equally ancient 'Court of Common Pleas,' for the

judicial hearing of causes before the Justices, 'pro brevibus coram justiciariis,' had its seal designed after the same leading motive as that for the King's Bench, but the details are different. The enthroned king, the royal heraldry, the badges, are retained, drawn differently, but with equal accuracy of proportion and graceful beauty. That of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. has a background in the obverse diapered lozengy with a five-leaved rose in each space and a fleur-de-lis knot on each of the intersecting lines, and the shield is supported by two greyhounds. The change of royal style, adopted by the latter Henry, necessitated the alteration of the seal, and a new seal was accordingly made with the newly adopted style in the legend. The reticulation of the background bears a rose in each space and a similar charge at the crossing of the cords. The shield of arms is ornamental, and the supporters are changed to a crowned lion and a collared greyhound.

Edward VI.'s seal indicates the fashionable change to Italian architecture which had come over the seal-engraver's art. The king sits enthroned under a semi-circular canopy. Classic trophies are applied to the pilasters of the throne, and enhanced with statuettes; above the canopy is a marine deity with finny arms. The badges are the fleur-de-lis, the rose *en soleil*, a five-pointed star, and a royal lion of England; the king's initials, E. R. crowned, are placed in the field. The reverse shows an ornamental shield of the king's arms, supported by the crowned lion of England and the collared greyhound. Mary probably used an altered form of Edward's seal for a short time; her own seal shows the queen in majesty, with concomitant badges or ornaments of stars, roses, annulets, fleurs-de-lis, and the lion royal. On each side of the throne is a vase containing on the left a blossoming rose-tree, on the right a fructed pomegranate, each of which has its own significance. The royal initials, crowned, are in the field. The reverse bears an ornamental shield of the arms of the realm, crowned, and supported as in Edward's seal. Philip and Mary, after

using this seal until 1556, made use of a seal whereon the two royal personages are represented as seated, and laying their hands on an orb set on a pedestal. The thrones are curtained and nicely carved, and the subordinate details or devices that have been introduced into the design consist of a castle, a rose, and a fleur-de-lis. In the shield of the reverse are set the royal arms of Spain impaling the royal arms of England; it is supported on a mount by a crowned eagle and a collared greyhound. The legend runs over both the obverse and reverse, and gives the lengthy royal style of the two rulers as settled by the Government of the kingdom.

Queen Elizabeth depicts her effigy in majesty, seated on a throne with a domed canopy and curtains thrown over the arms. The shield of arms on the reverse is set on a mount and supported by a dragon sejant and a collared greyhound. James I. affects the new style of architecture in the throne, where the most prominent details are the shell-shaped back, and the canopy domed and curtained, upheld by half-length cupids or *amorini*. The reverse has the ornamental shield on a mount embellished with flowers; the dragon and hound support it, and the description of the use of the seal is, in place of the scroll as usual, placed on an entablature here. The Commonwealth adhered to the interior of the House of Parliament for the one side, dated 1648, and the map of the realms with concomitant shields for the other. Charles II. reverts to the royal effigy, seated on an ornamental throne enriched with the royal arms supported by *putti*, holding garlands: on each side of the throne a quasi-supporter, viz. a lion sejant guardant with one gamb placed on a mound, or globe. But the heraldic supporters of the shield of arms on the reverse are the dragon and greyhound, and the title of the seal is placed in an entablature. Anne's seal has a leaning towards medallic influences. The queen in majesty is seated on a throne, between royal supporters, and in the carving may be observed two figures perhaps emblematic of

Britannia and Justice. The royal arms overhead are crowned and upheld by two cherubs, each blowing a trumpet. The crowned arms of the second reverse, after union with Scotland, are supported by a lion and a greyhound. This seal is dated 1707. George I.'s seal for this Court represents the king in majesty, seated on a canopied throne; on the right is a figure of Britannia holding shields of arms, and on the left Justice with her customary emblems. The lion and the unicorn have become the royal supporters for the obverse, and here each one is holding up a lance-flag. But on the reverse the ornamental crowned shield of arms is supported still by the dragon and greyhound of an earlier heraldry.

Justices in eyre appear to have introduced into their official seals the armorial bearings of their family. The Court of Wards and Liveries had several interesting seals, beginning with that of Henry VIII., who employed an ornamental shield of the royal arms crowned and supported by a lion and a dragon all upheld by naked children, the *pupilli* and *orphani* whom, with widows, this Court was constituted to protect. Mary's seal for the same uses much the same devices, differently drawn, and introduces the queen's *devises*, a rose, a lily, and a pomegranate, united together. Elizabeth's seal has the rose and fleur-de-lis badges, the lion and dragon supporters, and the children upholding the shield. Charles I. introduces an effigy of his royal person set on a caparisoned horse, and in armour, plumed. He still retains the children who hold up the shield. In the second seal a distant prospect of the city of London has been drawn in the background, and in the field is set a rose *en soleil*, crowned, the king's royal badge. The 'Augmentation Office,' or 'Court of Augmentation of Crown Revenues,' had several seals. The first one of Henry VIII., who instituted the office, shows on the obverse the king enthroned in majesty, on a background diapered lozengy with a fleur-de-lis or a rose introduced alternately into the interstices. The shield on the right hand bears a

plain cross with crown and garter, that on the left hand a corresponding shield of the royal arms of the realm. On the reverse the king in armour, with heraldic shield, is riding on a caparisoned horse, accompanied with a greyhound running at full speed. The second seal has the enthroned king, with angels holding shields at the sides, and the royal badges of roses and fleurs-de-lis, but the background is plain, with shields thereon, as in the previous seal. Edward VI.'s seal shows the same heraldry as his father's first seal; the reverse omits the greyhound, but adopts the lozengy diaper embellished with badges, which we have already seen on the obverse of Henry's seal. The Court of General Supervisors of Crown lands in the reign of Henry VIII. used the royal arms and lion and dragon supporters. A curious seal of the four-and-twenty *Curcistae*, or Chancery Cursitors, in the eighteenth century, shows a representation of one of the Cursitors seated at a table on which are rolls: he is inscribing the ambiguous words 'SIC NOS NON NOBIS.' In the upper part is a view of a village, with a man ploughing in the foreground.

The Admiralty Courts also have some ancient seals, which demand recognition at our hands in this rapid glance over the official seals of the kingdom. One of the 'Great Seals of the Supreme Court' of the time of Queen Anne depicts a ship of war in full sail, with the arms of George, Prince of Denmark, Lord High Admiral of England, gartered and crowned, and on the mainmast the Queen's flag of arms. All the seals of the Admiralty and admirals employ the appropriate design of a ship of war, combined with royal and family arms; and the various details of apparatus and equipment are so depicted that they enable us to obtain a very accurate and valuable idea of the construction of the several parts of shipping in vogue at the period when the seals were first made. In this respect we see the armorial bearings of the kingdoms of France and England; guns peeping out from port-holes; bulwarks, masts, sails, cordage; the

white hart lodged, a royal badge of Edward IV.; a crow's-nest or lookout place on a mast; forecastles and stern-castles; the cross of St. George, naval standard of England on a seal of 1416-1426; lantern lights suspended at the stern; wheat-ears introduced as badges of John Holland, second Earl of Huntingdon, and of Henry Holland, fourth Duke of Exeter, admirals of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine in the fifteenth century; cressets, cinquefoils, escallops; greyhounds holding standards, and numerous other family badges and symbolical devices. The dimensions of their diameters vary from about an inch and a half to upwards of five inches as the period progresses from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century.

Of subsidies several old seals are chronicled. The earliest shows the head of the reigning sovereign, and the legend declares the especial subsidy for which it was used. Other seals of this class show the royal arms. That of the 'Collectors of the Fifteenth' has a stag's head cabossed between four pierced mullets and having a family coat of arms between the antlers. Another seal used by a 'collector of a tenth' granted to King Henry V., delineates the king's head, crowned and charged on the neck with a key between three roundels. An important section of official seals is that used for 'Recognisances of debts.' Each large city included in the schedule where the recognisances could be taken up had its own seal. The dominant design was a very pleasing bust portrait of the sovereign, charged on the breast with a lion or other symbol, and often between other two emblems of appropriate signification. Bristol, for example, has an Edward II.'s bust, the lion of England, and the bust itself is placed between two towers of Castile as on his Great Seal. The counterseal, which is smaller, seems to have been either the official one of a leopard's face, or a private and personal impression perhaps from a ring. In the case of Bristol, the leopard's face is used. Canterbury has the same design, but the drawing differs. Chester

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the same, with simpler castle. Coventry has a lion on the royal breast, with an oak-tree of three branches at each side. Exeter delineates a more elaborate castle at each side of the bust. Gloucester places at the sides of the royal bust with its lion, certain horseshoes and horsenails, in allusion to the arms of that city, and on its small round counterseal, a shield of arms of the same city as invented in the time of Henry VIII., which shows that the obverse, although of fourteenth-century origin, had been embellished with these armorial details in the time of the later king. Hereford uses triple-towered castles, as adjuncts to the bust of the king; Lincoln the same, differently drawn, and with the official counterseal of the leopard's face; London, the same type of bust and castles, variantly detailed, with an effigy of St. Paul holding sword and book, half-length, on the small round counterseal. Northampton, the same *motif*, with St. Andrew, in allusion to the principal Priory of the town, set on the small round counterseal between eight fleurs-de-lis, on the reverse. Norwich has the obverse designed much after the usual type; the reverse, or counterseal, shows an embattled tower with our Lord blessing on the roof, and in the doorway a leopard's head or other animal, indistinct. Oxford has the usual *motif* on the obverse; the counterseal uses the design of an *ox* standing in a *ford*, in allusion, by way of rebus, ignorantly and erroneously, to the name of the city, still further from the right by the legend or inscription of 'BOS · OXONIE ·' with which it is accompanied. Salisbury places the figure of the Cathedral, with tall spire topped by a cross, on each side of the royal bust, and on the counterseal the Virgin Mary, having the Child, standing on her knee, and the legend 'SIGILL' MARIE · SARVM.' Southampton had a variant: the king's bust has the castle on the breast, and at the sides two lions passant guardant of England. Winchester places the lion on the bust and two castles at the sides, York has the same, but the castle on the left hand appears to be enclosed in a small panel

or frame, and to have been removable at will. This was undoubtedly an ingenious method of preventing any improper use of the seal without the connivance of at least two persons. The counterseal of the York seal delineates the Patron, St. Peter, with his book and keys, and, on the left, a castle. It is curious that this bears the inscription EBORACVS.

All the foregoing may be relegated to the period of Edward II. Richard II.'s Oxford City seal for Recognisances is that of Edward with the name altered to *Recard*, and the *ox* in a *ford* is again delineated in a variant form. James I.'s seal for Newport in the Isle of Wight has a half-length figure of the king with an elaborate dress of cloak, ruff, tunic, mantle and baldric, and wearing a jewelled collar enhanced with a cross. This of course belongs to a period when conventionalism had come to be totally disregarded. The Commonwealth seal of the Statute Merchant of the city of Worcester, however, relies somewhat on older motives, for the design is an embattled tower, with portcullis and double doorway; in the field on each side a branch of vine, fructed and leaved. Akin with these statute seals for Merchants' Recognisances, are those of the Statute Staple of Westminster. These date from the reign of King Richard II. The predominating motive is sometimes a set of woolsacks, sometimes a leopard's face, in a carved and traced Gothic sixfoil rose, enriched with small fleurs-de-lis or flowers. The legend declares the seal to be that of the 'Mayor of the Staple of Westminster for the Statute of Merchants.' Henry V. used the same, and a counterseal bearing the royal initials R. H. in Gothic or black letter type. Henry VI. the same, with a griffin's head erased on the small octagonal counterseal. Edward IV.'s counterseal to the same design is a bunch of grapes; Henry VII.'s, a woolsack or cushion with tufted corners; Henry VIII.'s, a merchant's mask within a chain border. Another series of seals belongs to the Recognisances, *pro debitis recuperandis*, for recovery of debts, a method

employed in the time of Henry VIII. and his successors for protection of trade and prevention of fraud. The motive here is a finely drawn double rose of fine leaves, barbed and seeded, ensigned with a royal crown and accompanied with a suitably descriptive legend. This type obtains with subordinate variations, such as a triple for a double flower, the petals altered in position, down to the time of Charles II. Elizabeth, James I., Charles I. and II., added the royal initials of E. R. and so forth, and the dimensions rise from $1\frac{3}{8}$ inch in Henry VIII.'s time, to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inch in Charles II.'s. King Edward II.'s seal for the Port of London depicts a lozenge-shaped shield of arms of England, between four swords, probably in allusion to the sword in the city arms, sometimes considered symbols of St. Paul, the patron of the see and city. Wool and hides were very important articles of the native trade in England in the fourteenth and succeeding centuries, and the taxation of them with concomitant formalities of transfer of ownership and locality of storage was legalised by the use of a seal. Here Edward II. used for Lincoln, one of the chief marts for this manner of product, the design of a shield of the arms of the realm, suspended by a strap from a hook, and between two falcons, with a counterseal on which the royal lions were engraved without their shield. For Lyme Regis and for Shoreham, other great marts, the same king used a shield of royal arms only. For Norwich, the shield is set between two mounts, with an oak-tree on each one, over which is the triple-towered castle of Castile, favoured of Edward II. for family symbolism. For Winchester the shield has a wyvern on each side of it, and the reverse, or counterseal, preserves the usual type. Edward II.'s seal for the customs of the City of York resembles this type, the shield of arms of England on one side, the charges without the shield in the other. This is expressly designated as the seal of the old and the new customs of the City. Many other designs might also be mentioned.

CHAPTER IV

ECCLESIASTICAL AND CAPITULAR SEALS OF ENGLAND AND WALES

WE have now completed our view of the Royal seals of England and the offices which are connected with the prerogative and jurisdiction of the sovereign, and a new class offers itself to our consideration. It is that of the Provinces, Sees, Chapters, and other Ecclesiastical foundations of England. The first place of these naturally belongs to the Province of Canterbury. The series of seals used by the archbishops who occupied the ecclesiastical throne of this ancient dignity is tolerably perfect, but some of the seals have only come down to us in an injured condition. Putting aside the somewhat doubtful seal of Dunstan, which has not much to recommend its making, the series begins with Anselm of Dorobernia, the ancient name of Canterbury, in 1093-1109. The type here is that of a full-length effigy of the prelate in the vestments of his dignity, holding a staff and book, and standing on a platform. Succeeding archbishops adhered to this type in the main, but added, as time went forward, various improvements of detail to the tableau. Ralph, 1114-1122, is mitred; he holds the pastoral staff, and lifts up his right hand in the act of pronouncing a blessing, which is a conventional attitude found almost constantly in all the delineations of archbishops, bishops, and other prelates which are put on seals, from the earliest period to the sixteenth century. Theobald, 1139-1161, carries on the same style, and employs a small counterseal from a ring, in which was

set a finely engraved antique intaglio gem, or precious stone. The design of this is a bearded bust in profile, of a deity or emperor of classic time, the hair bound with a fillet. The use of gems of Greek or Roman work has been described in a previous part of this book. This is a good example of the use of these highly prized objects, which in this case we may conjecture had a sacred interest in the bust being taken for that of Christ. There was a keen demand for them, and the goldsmiths and jewellers of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries found means to supply them to their rich and powerful clients. Possibly they are relics of an intercourse with Rome and the East; possibly also there is a link between some at least of them with the Crusades. Theobald's ring seal appears, from one impression appended to a deed in the British Museum, to have been altered: the gem is the same, but the setting of precious metal has the legend engraved on it in a different manner from that seen in the earliest impressions.

Hubert Walter contributes a very early representation, 1193-1205, of the martyrdom of his predecessor St. Thomas à Becket of Canterbury, under an arcade, accompanied with a rhyming hexameter which sums up in a single sentence, marvellously constructed, the life and death, the policy and the steadfastness of the martyred prelate:

'MARTIR · QUOD · STILLAT · PRIMATIS · AB · ORE · SIGILLAT.'

Stephen Langton, with similar obverse to his seal, gives another aspect to the same attractive subject, and his counterseal enunciates the pious wish:

'MORS · EXPRESSA · FORIS · TIBI · VITA · SIT · INTUS · AMORIS.'

In the base of one or two impressions of the obverse his gem ring has been impressed. Its subject is a tree

between two cupids, one of whom is mounting to the branches by a ladder. Archbishop Weathershed elaborates his obverse with diapered field, and panels bearing the heads of saints. His reverse bears yet another view of the martyrdom of St. Thomas, with figures of two of the murderers holding their shields. Here again a rhyming verse is appositely placed in the legend. Edmund Rich, 1233-1240, gives an effigy upon a diapered field, and on the reverse the martyrdom. St. Thomas was the most popular saint in England for long after his 'deposition.' Archbishop Boniface of Savoy represents a very fine period of sealmakers' art. His figure stands on an ornamental corbel, which embodies a view of Canterbury Cathedral, and there are four impressions of ancient gems bearing classic figures, one of which is a bust of Jupiter Serapis. The counterseal, as previously, delineates the martyrdom of the Kentish archbishop, with the soul of the saint carried up to the Almighty Father in a cloth, a fancy frequently to be noticed in the works of mediæval artists. Archbishop Kilwardby, 1272-1278, calls himself on his seal 'Primate of all England.' His reverse of the martyrdom is accompanied with the pious wish of

'AD · CHRISTUM · PRO · ME · SIT · SEMPER · PASSIO · THOME.'

John Peckham places a lily-flower drooping on a long stalk on each side of his effigy, and the tableau of his reverse seems inspired by that of his predecessor, but has a different verse. Archbishop Winchelsea, 1294-1313, places his effigy on a carved Gothic platform and beneath a trefoiled canopy, with a diapered field. This is the first seal of the series with this adjunct, which is retained in succeeding seals. Archbishop Walter Reynolds, 1314-1327, succeeds in a richly ornamental period of art. His seal is filled with beautiful details: shields of the arms of England are introduced at the sides, as well as the symbols of the Four Evangelists,

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which derive their presence from the fact that they are charges in the family armorial bearings of the archbishop. He, too, retains the scene of the martyrdom of his tutelary predecessor for the subject of his reverse. Simon Islip uses, with his effigy, a figure of the Virgin overhead, and shields of arms. A doubtful seal, either of this Simon, or of Simon of Sudbury, 1375-1381, gives another delineation of the tragedy enacted in the cathedral, with the archbishop kneeling in adoration. This latter Simon had a very rich seal with a Gothic canopy over the prelate's head, consisting of five cusps, and angels holding shields of arms, one of which bears a crozier ensigned with a cross *formée*, and surmounted by a *pallium* between two pastoral staves. This seems to be a variant of the arms of the Ecclesiastical Province of Canterbury. Heads of St. Paul and St. Peter are also introduced in niches, and the family arms are set in the base. This archbishop's seal *ad causas* employs the usual device of the martyrdom, accompanied with a figure of the Holy Trinity between demi-angels, saints, heraldry, and the prelate himself in prayer. His ring bears the favourite and universal motto of the middle ages in England: 'JHESUS · EST · AMOR · MEUS.'

A curious but uncertain seal bearing a representation of the Holy Trinity, within a cordon of busts of an archbishop and seventeen bishops, may possibly belong to this prelate or to one not far removed from him in order of sequence. Archbishop Courtenay, 1381-1396, discards the type of effigy which had subsisted from the earliest days, and depicts the Saviour giving a blessing, with St. Paul and St. Peter in side niches. His official seal gives the mystical figure of the risen Christ, blessing, and holding an orb enhanced with long cross and banner. Thomas Arundel, 1397-1414, reverts to the death of the sainted archbishop, and introduces the Holy Trinity with angel attendants. His privy seal of arms has supporters of lions sejant guardant. Archbishop Chicheley's seal is rich and fine. Its design is

the Trinity adored by the prelate and accompanied with arms. John Stafford, 1443-1452, uses the motive of the Holy Trinity, with the Virgin and Child between angels, and with shields of arms. His signet is an eagle of St. John the Evangelist, holding a scroll with an indistinct word inscribed thereon. Archbishop Bourchier retains the Trinity. Wareham reverts to the personal effigy, and is the last of the archbishops to do so. His second seal, however, used in 1524, depicts the Trinity, the Virgin and Child with two angels, and the prelate in adoration. Cranmer seems to have adopted Archbishop Wareham's seal at first, but in his second seal he was the first to place the martyrdom of St. Thomas, accompanied with a representation of the Almighty on a rainbow, and heraldry, in the lower part. This tableau, however, was out of favour with the altered feelings of the time, and it was removed to make way for a more orthodox scene of the Crucifixion of our Lord. Archbishop Parker on his seal depicts our Lord in Judgment; figures rising from graves; Satan thrusting the wicked into Hell; and the building of the New Jerusalem. The legend is the pronunciation of the final doom as given in Holy Writ, but little beyond the words *venite* and *abite* can be deciphered. The last seal to be mentioned is that of Laud, 1633-1645. Art by this time had sadly degenerated, and here we find the arms of the province or see; the eye of the Almighty; a hand of blessing; and contemporary heraldry. A date ten years later than the execution of the archbishop has been inserted into the matrix above the family arms of Laud. His signet is purely armorial.

The Prerogative Courts of the archbishops are provided with seals descriptively inscribed. Their devices chiefly point to St. Thomas, or are heraldic. Cranmer substituted for the martyrdom in the first seal, the scourging of our Lord in his second. The *sede vacante* seal during Cranmer's imprisonment, and Archbishop Pole's seal, still give the martyrdom. Parker gives the

disputing of Christ with the Doctors in the Temple, with an antique gem seal in one counterseal, bearing two busts of deities or emperors. This is also employed by Archbishop Grindal. Some of the later seals bear impressions, on the reverse, of seals of officials of the Prerogative Court. The Court of Arches used the device of the Virgin and Child, attended by the Dean, or other official, in an attitude of veneration. The Faculty seals of Archbishops Cranmer and Juxon depict the scene of Moses lifting up the brazen serpent in the wilderness on the one side, as the type of the Crucifixion of our Lord which finds a place on the other side; those of other archbishops are chiefly armorial or copies of these two Biblical events. The 'Chancery General' of Canterbury has left an interesting seal, which bears a representation of the Crucifixion between two trees in a Gothic niche, engraved over some original design which has been cut away. In base, under an arch, is a bishop praying between two shields of arms, which may perhaps be for Cranmer; if so, the identical treatment in Cranmer's seal already spoken of, has been followed here.

The 'Court of Audience,' another of the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Province, has, in the seal of Archbishop Parker, an effigy of the prelate, with heraldry, and on the reverse a small counterseal of which the design is a human skull with a thigh-bone set between the jaws. The 'officials of the Court,' 'officiality of Christ Church,' and 'Commissary Generals,' all had appropriate seals. The effigy of St. Thomas appears to have been a favourite subject in these cases. One seal of the fourteenth century for the 'officiality,' shows a prospect of the Cathedral from the south; another, used in 1559, has the Virgin Mary under a late canopy. The 'Visitations seal' of the Commissary has the Saviour in judgment. Archbishop Laud's Vicar-General used a seal, 1633-1645, bearing an angel with uplifted wings holding in one hand a sword and a book, in the other an even balance, the 'Angel of Doom,' accompanied with the inscriptions

'PERCUTE' over the former, and 'PERPENDE' over the latter emblem. The early seals of Canterbury Chapter are very beautiful and very elaborate. They show views of the church, 'Ecclesia Christi,' more or less accurate, more or less conventional, with figures of our Lord, heads of St. Dunstan and St. Ælfheah, or Elphegus, Becket's martyrdom, and other designs proper to the sacred locality. The counterseal of the martyrdom is graced with the following couplet concerning the tragedy:

'EST · HUIC · VITA · MORI · PRO · QUA · DUM · VIXIT · AMORI ·
MORS · ERAT · ET · MEMORI · PER · MORTEM · VIVIT · HONORI.'

On the rim, or edge, the following lines are supposed to be spoken by the seal itself:

'SIT · MICHI · CAUSA · MERA · STILUS · APTUS · LITERA · VERA ·
CIRCUMSPECTA · SERA · TENOR · UTILIS · INTEGRA · CERA.'

The seals of the New Foundation, 1540, brushed all these beautiful creations of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries away, to make room for coarsely executed copies, showing views of the Cathedral from various points of view, with figures of the Divine Patron, angels swinging thuribles, and other details. The martyrdom also finds a place on the earliest seals *ad causas*, and on the Archdeacon's seal in 1232 there is a good tableau of the same event. The Almoner's seal shows the distribution of doles to the poor, and armorial bearings, busts of St. Thomas, and other representations of local interest fill up the measure of the Ecclesiastical Seals of Canterbury.

The Bishops of Bangor have left very few seals to us. They appear to follow the same lines of art as the preceding specimens, age for age. Heraldry and hagiology are the paramount founts of inspiration here, as in other sees. The Bishops of Bath, Bath and Glastonbury

(combined by Savaric, who occupied the Episcopal throne here at the close of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century), and Bath and Wells, present a fairly good series of seals to our notice. The Virgin and Child, St. Andrew, St. Paul, St. Anne teaching the Virgin are, with armorial bearings, the most usual subjects on these seals. The Bishop's Exchequer, in his seal of 1348, shows his effigy half-length with an Exchequer table of sixteen small squares on his breast. The earliest Chapter seal is of very great antiquity, possibly as old as the tenth century if we may judge from the character of the lettering and the Romanesque style of the abbey buildings delineated, where three towers without windows, pent roofs with knob finials and other peculiarities of construction, point to an almost classical period of architecture. St. John Baptist appears on the Precentor's seal in the thirteenth century.

Chichester Diocese possessed a very good series of seals which follow the art lines that have already been described for Canterbury. Some of these delineate the Saviour in judgment between the candlesticks of Rev. i. 16, a design which subsequently found its way into the armorial bearings of the See: the Almighty and the Holy Spirit as a Dove, the Virgin, St. Richard, St. Wilfrid, the Trinity, and St. Frideswida. The early thirteenth-century seal used by the Dean and Chapter is oblate oval, and has a curious representation of the cathedral here called 'Templum Justicie.' Their *ad causas* seal shows our Lord enthroned as Prester John, A.Ω., in his mouth a sword. A late thirteenth-century dean uses the design of our Lord, between the busts of St. Paul and St. Peter. Heraldry is the principal motive in the later seals. The ancient See of Dunwich contributes the seal of Bishop Edhilvvald, 845-870, to our series. It bears an ornamental star of eight points alternately leaf-shaped and fleury. This seal has been the subject of several learned dissertations. The matrix of bronze is preserved in the British Museum, and is an undoubtedly genuine fine-art

relic of Anglo-Saxon episcopacy. The Bishops of Ely had a very fine series of seals, where the effigies of the prelates contribute much towards the study of mediæval vestments of the church. St. Etheldreda appears on some of the seals, where we may read of the principal events in the life of this great saint in the legendary inscription:

'ETHELDREDA · DUOS · FRUSTATUR · VIRGO · MARITOS.'

The two husbands whom she eluded and abandoned for a chaster life than that of matrimony were, if legend is to be relied on, Tonberht, and the Northumbrian monarch Ecgfrid. St. Peter shares, in some seals, the honour given to this virgin saint. Heraldry is predominant in the later examples. St. Peter and St. Etheldreda on the early seal of the Chapter were accompanied with the descriptive couplet:

'PETRUS · ET+ELDREDA · MOLLIS · SUB+TEGMINE · CERE ·
ELY · S+ECRETA · CELARE · SIMUL+STATUERE,'

with four fleurs-de-lis at the crosses marked, to show where the cords for appending the seal were to be laid when the wax was not yet set cold. The Holy Trinity, the Virgin and Child, and the patron saint, are shown on other seals of members of this Chapter. The Rural Deaneries here, as in other sees, had arbitrary designs, and no conventional usage was adopted; sometimes an effigy of the dean; at others, a bird with a branch, a saint's head, or a hand of blessing, were adopted. Exeter contributes a good collection of seals of its bishops. Bartholomew, 1162-1184, had in his ring seal a finely engraved antique gem, with the classic group of Thetis and Achilles, which he has impressed as a counterseal on an example in the British Museum. It bears the substance of a Biblical injunction on its legend, 'CREDE · DUOBUS,' two witnesses being considered in Jewish and

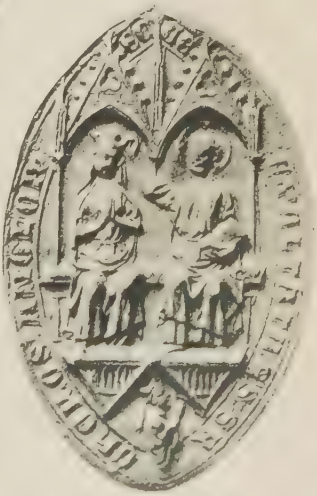
ancient law necessary to establish a record of truth. The Virgin and Child, the Trinity, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Catharine, are not infrequently found on seals of this See, and the seals of John Grandison, 1327-1369, of bright red wax, embedded in a boat-shaped mass of fine uncoloured wax in beautiful preservation, are among the very best examples of Episcopal seals that our country can boast of. The early seals of the Chapter represent the cathedral church. The Precentor, in the opening years of the fourteenth century, delineated on his seal the Annunciation with the emblems of St. Peter and St. Paul added to the tableau. The common seal of the Warden and College of Vicars Choral gives the very unusual subject of our Lord walking on the water, raising up the half-immersed figure of St. Peter, with legend 'QUARE DUBITASTI' (Matt. xiv. 31). The Archdeacon of Cornwall, a member of the Chapter, used in 1282, the design of St. George and the Dragon on his seal, but the connection of this legend with the See is not clear.

The Bishops of Hereford of the mediæval ages exhibit some good seals. St. Æthelbert appears on some of them, and impressions of one or two gem rings of antiquity are found as counterseals. Heraldry, as usual, is not wanting. The Chapter seal, like so many others, represents, in a pointed oval or vesica, parts of the ancient cathedral church, perhaps the south door, a lantern tower, and a western pinnacle thatched and with a circular window. The delineation may be compared with some of the details of the old church which have been given in the histories of the city. The reverse shows St. Æthelbert, or perhaps our Lord, with crown, sceptre and orb, and in the field the symbolical adjuncts of the sun, the moon, and a star. A later seal, apparently of the workmanship of the thirteenth century, contains the design of the Virgin and Child, with St. Æthelbert holding his dissevered head, still adorned with the crown, in his hand, between a moon and two stars. A seventeenth-century seal of the Chapter, imperfect, appears to have the design

of the Blessed Trinity or the Coronation of the Virgin; two seated figures only remain. The Virgin Mary and the patron saint also appear upon other seals connected with the officials of the Chapter.

Thomas Manning, 1536-1539, sole bishop of the short-lived See of Ipswich, has left an impression of his signet ring with the simple device of his initials T. M. The Bishops of Lichfield and Coventry from an early period use the plain Episcopal effigy, in vestments, with pastoral staff, and lifting up the right hand in the act of giving a benediction. The thirteenth century witnesses here much more elaboration of the bishop's dress; architectural details of canopy and corbel are introduced; the moon and stars find their places in the field; and eventually heraldry enters into the tableau. The effigy of the Virgin and Child not infrequently adorns the counterseals. Other subjects found in these seals are the Coronation of the Virgin; figures of St. Chad, patron saint; St. Paul, and St. Catharine. Heraldry, it is hardly necessary to say, is not forgotten. The Chapter seals do not here delineate any ecclesiastical building, but the Virgin and Child and St. John Baptist appear on some of them. The *Coetus Vicariorum*, 1368, had a seal where, in the base, seven vicars choral are shown in half-length, beneath the figure of a bishop, also half-length, under an elegant arch. The Rural Deaneries had special seals, that of Marton, co. Warwick, bearing a pelican; Arderne, in the same county, an Agnus Dei; that of Preston, co. Lancaster, a salmon between two fleurs-de-lis.

The copious series of seals belonging to the Bishops of Lincoln begins very early, with Alexander, 1123, and is replete with interest; the gradual changes from the simple Episcopal effigy with pastoral staff, to the elaborately carved and canopied niches containing richly vested prelates accompanied with saints and heraldry, as well as subordinate emblems, being all well represented. The counterseals also show impressions of a curious gnostic gem, of the first or second century of the Christian



ENGLISH BISHOPS

era, used by Bishop Robert de Chesney. This bears a compound figure, known to antiquaries as a *chimera* or *gryllus*, consisting of a human bust, an eagle, a horse's head and neck, a trident, and a serpent, united fantastically together so as to form a monstrous or nondescript figure. The signification of this remarkable design is not clearly apparent, but it had undoubtedly a deep meaning for those who could read aright, and the gem on which it had been engraved must have possessed some great intrinsic value to cause it to attract so powerful a churchman as the Bishop of Lincoln in the middle of the twelfth century. This gem, like one already described, was set more than once, for the impressions on the reverse of the bishop's seal show that the lettering of the legend is not always disposed in the same manner.

Among the designs which grace the seals of this See are found effigies of the Virgin and Child, and of St. Hugh of Lincoln; the head of this saint; God the Father; St. John Baptist; and the Crucifixion. Bishop John de Bokyngham's seal, 1363-1397, is a remarkably fine relic, and compares for beauty and execution with that of Grandison, Bishop of Exeter. Bishop Henry de Beaufort introduced the imaginary arms of Edward the Confessor into his very beautiful seal. In 1547, a royal seal for the Ecclesiastical Causes of this See was employed, in accordance with the Statute of 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2. The early seals of the Chapter of Lincoln are very fine. They bear the figure of the Virgin and Child, and a counterseal in 1217 shows the scene of the Annunciation. Among the devices used by members of the Chapter are effigies of St. John the Evangelist, St. Hugh or St. John de Beverley, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter's keys, and so forth. Llandaff diocese has not left very many Episcopal seals; those that are known follow the usual current of art. There is a fine early Christian gem ring of Bishop William de Saltmarsh, the impression showing a cross between two busts of celestial personages; another, with an imperial bust in profile; and

a twelfth-century effigy of the Archangel Gabriel. The Chapter had two seals, both apparently of the twelfth century. They bear views of the cathedral which are, historically and architecturally speaking, of the highest interest, the earlier one from the north, the later from the south side of the fabric.

The Bishops of London favoured the type of full-length figure of the prelate, and of these we find seals of Richard de Belmeis, also called Rufus I., from a charter preserved in St. Paul's Cathedral, 1108; Richard de Belmeis II., his nephew, 1152-1162, on a charter in Canterbury Cathedral; Gilbert de Foliot, William of St. Mary Church, Eustace de Falconbridge, Roger Niger de Bileye, Henry de Wingham, Richard Talbot, and John de Chishill. Several of these Episcopal seals have counterseals alluding to the patron saint of the See. Stephen of Gravesend is represented on a diapered background under a trefoiled Gothic canopy, 1318-1338. In the charming seal of Ralph de Stratford, 1340-1354, the field is filled with fine tracery, and at the sides are the emblems of St. Paul and St. Peter. Bishop Simon of Sudbury's seal is the earliest in the series in which the bishop's figure is replaced by that of a saint, the bishop himself occupying a subordinate position in the design. This bears St. Paul's effigy, with his appropriate emblems, in a fine niche, and in the carving overhead is a figure of the Virgin; below, is the bishop kneeling in veneration, between two shields of arms, that of the See on the one side, and of the Sudbury family on the other. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries introduce designs more rich and varied into Episcopal seals. Architectural display, saints and their proper emblems, intricate tabernacle work, and tracery supporting armorial bearings become prevalent. The sixteenth century is that of incipient decay. Bishop Tunstall's seal, 1522-1530, with decadent Gothic work, ushers in the Italian art, which is still more pronounced in that of Edmund Bonner, 1540-1549. The seals of the bishops for 'causes' differed by

generally having a figure of the Virgin Mary or other saint in the principal position. Those of the Capitular members are smaller and not of such elaborate execution.

The Cathedral seal of the thirteenth century represents the holy edifice as it appeared in that remote epoch, after allowing liberally for the conventionalism which entered so largely into the imagination of the engraver. The Chapter seal of the twelfth century shows St. Paul on a Gothic edifice, holding an open book and giving the blessing to three half-length figures on each side who are adoring him. A later seal bears on the one side the west front of the cathedral, on the other the patron with sword and book beneath a finely ornamented canopy, and the explanatory legend here is very attractive:

'MUCRO · FUROR · SAULI · LIBER · EST · CONVERSIO · SAULI.'

St. Paul's effigy one would naturally expect to find on these seals, and the appearance of St. Martin on Bishop Kemp's seal, 1450-1459, and of St. Æthelbert on Bishop Tunstall's, 1522-1530, refer to other episodes in the history of the See. There is a copious series of seals of Chapter officials and dignitaries, with appropriate designs and emblems.

The See of Norwich can show many beautiful seals of the bishops, following the progress of art from the simple Episcopal effigy to the ornamental, the architectural, and eventually to the heraldic and symbolical stages. Impressions of gems on the earlier counterseals are extant, accompanied with mottoes and texts. The Virgin and Child also occurs on these, and one, with our Lord in glory, bears the rhyme:

'HOC · TE · TORMENTO · REDIMI · WALTERE · MEMENTO.'

This belongs to the seal of Walter of Suthfield, who sat on the cathedral throne from 1245 to 1257. St. John Baptist, St. Lawrence, the Holy Trinity, and the Calvary cross occur among the designs, many of which are very

beautiful. The officers of the Chapter delineate other saints, and the 'Corrector of the Bishop,' on his official seal, sits in judgment on two delinquents standing before him. The Cathedral seals are very fine. That made in 1258, about three and a quarter inches in diameter, shows a wonderfully intricate elevation or section of the edifice with abundance of conventional detail, and includes a figure of Bishop Herbert Losinga, the founder. It is accompanied, after the usual manner, with the wavy-rayed sun-star and crescent moon of recondite signification. The reverse shows another prospect of the holy building, and comprises the half-length figure of our Lord and a scene of the Annunciation. Our Lord speaks the rhyming legend:

'EST · MICHI · NUMEN · IDEM · TRIBUS · UNI · LAUS · HONOR · IDEM.
ET · BENEDICO · GREGI · FAMULATUR · QUI · MICHI · REGI.'

The rim of this seal carries a sentence declaring the date, given above, of the making of the matrix. In, or before, the year 1544, the scene of the Annunciation, which had now at length become intolerable to the iconoclastic sentiments of the age, was removed, in order to make place for a deeply cut ornamental shield of arms, but the alteration was not carried out so thoroughly as to destroy entirely the top of the heads of the Virgin and the Archangel, and the inscription on the plinth below, which was befitting the original tableau, 'Ave Maria,' is grotesquely out of place beneath a shield of arms. Other saints appear on seals of Chapter dignitaries, among them being St. Agnes carrying a lamb in her arms, St. Michael and the dragon, St. Margaret, St. Chad, and St. Thomas. The 'Disputing of Our Lord with the Doctors,' the 'Fall of Man,' and a personification of 'Justice,' are also found on late seals.

Dunwich has as the seal of one of its deans, 1193-1205, an impression of a fine Greek intaglio gem of the third or fourth century, the design of which is a warrior

with a shield, perhaps Achilles. The Rural Deanery, after its absorption into the See of Dunwich, shows effigies of St. Andrew and St. Peter. This is dated 1356. Oxford, a late Episcopal foundation, has a sixteenth-century seal (1546) bearing the figure of our Lord in a renaissance niche on the one side, and the founder, King Henry VIII., in majesty on the reverse. Peterborough, another late establishment by the same royal founder, affected heraldic designs, but Bishop Dove, 1601-1630, used an emblematic landscape, with a dovecot and persons fowling, in the foreground a coiled serpent. This is clearly in allusion to the bishop's surname, and also points to the text 'Be ye wise as serpents, harmless as doves' (Matt. x. 16). Rochester, sacred to St. Andrew the apostle, afforded to the bishops an interesting theme for the tableaux of their seals, and some fine examples are extant. The reverse of the thirteenth-century seal of the Chapter shows the martyrdom of the patron saint, who is being tied by his tormentors upon a saltire cross, while he ejaculates:

'EGO · CRUCIS · CHRISTI · SERVUS · SUM.'

St. Peter and St. Paul appear on the seal of an eighteenth-century archdeacon. The Bishops of St. Asaph have not left many seals. The most interesting designs in this series are figures of St. Peter and St. Paul on that of Bishop Robert of Lancaster, 1411-1433, which from some strange vicissitude of existence is in use by the 'Court of the Peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Chichester'; and the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac, as the prototype of the Agnus Dei. St. David's See, in like manner, is not particularly rich in seals.

Salisbury, on the other hand, contributes many very beautiful seals to our collections. The obverses follow the usual progress and manners of the seal art. The designs comprise the Annunciation, the Virgin and Child, the Holy Trinity, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Catharine, St. Osmund,

and St. Andrew. The Cathedral seals bear the royal similitude of the Queen of Heaven with the Divine Child. The See of Westminster, a late and short-lived foundation, which might now well be re-erected or resumed, 1540-1550, occupied by Thomas Thyrleby, has a seal wherein appear effigies of St. Peter, St. Edward Confessor, and a bishop. There is a very remarkable contemporary design for a seal of renaissance style, enclosing a figure of St. Peter, in the MSS. department of the British Museum, but it does not appear to have been completed. The Deanery and Chapter of the Collegiate Church of St. Peter are, of course, new foundations. Here the seals show St. Peter's figure and that of King Henry VIII., and, on a later seal, Queen Elizabeth receiving books from ecclesiastics.

The ancient See of Winchester is not deficient in good seals, which exhibit the customary movements and changes that are present in all the seals of other dioceses. Here the designs include the *Lucy* or pike fish of Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, 1189-1204, St. Peter and St. Paul, the Virgin and Child, St. Paul and St. Swithun, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Andrew. The Cathedral Chapter seal, made, as its legend attests, in 1294, is very beautiful. It gives on the one side a view of part of the cathedral, enclosing representations of St. Peter and St. Swithun the patron saints; on the other, a crowned king between two bishops, accompanied by four monks praying under an arch in the lower part of the design. There is a curious view of the cathedral in 1745 on a late seal, with the scene of the Ascension of our Lord, drawn and engraved in a coarse style of art, on the reverse. The See of Worcester completes the suffragan dioceses of the Province of Canterbury. Its seals are of a good style, and those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are particularly fine. Bishop Wakefield's seal *ad causas*, used in 1383, shows the 'Coronation of the Virgin' in a finely carved niche, accompanied with heraldry. That of Bishop Peverel, used in 1411, represents the Almighty,

the Virgin and Child, and the Dove. Bishop John de Gigliis, an Italian, 1497, represented on his seal the Virgin and Child between saints, probably Oswald and Wulstan, and our Lord on the Cross. Silvester de Gigliis, his successor, likewise an Italian, in 1498, represented the Virgin and Child and the Trinity. Other designs used by the bishops and officers of this See comprise our Lord in Judgment, the Coronation of the Virgin, St. Andrew, and the Ascension. The Cathedral seal is of the early date of the eleventh century, and bears a fine effigy of the Virgin with the Child, and a small oval counterseal from an antique gem engraved with a female votary pouring a libation to a deity and inscribed with one of the remarkable philosophical apophthegms which speak volumes in a few words and should be deeply engraved on every man's heart:

'HABUNDANS · CAUTELA · NON · NOCET.'

The fifteenth-century seal of the Dean and Chapter shows the Virgin and Child, the Blessed Trinity, and armorial bearings: on the reverse is a fine religious design, comprising niches in which are placed St. Oswald of Worcester and York, St. Wulstan, and the Coronation of the Virgin, accompanied by incense-bearing angels and adoring ecclesiastics. The New Foundation used a Renaissance type of seal, on the one side having the scene of the Nativity with heraldry, on the other King Henry VIII. enthroned, attended by clergy, and above the canopy of the throne is seen St. Peter with his emblematic key.

The Province of York has a fine collection of seals, second to none in beauty of work, and instinctively portraying the changing styles as the gradual improvement in designs progressed through the centuries. Here, in addition to the episcopal figures and concomitant armorial bearings, we may notice the appearance of effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, patron saints. Walter Giffard, who sat on the archiepiscopal throne from 1266 to 1279,

has a gem counterseal of antique workmanship engraved with the favourite classical subject of *Tyche* or Fortune, holding in the right hand a statuette of Victory or *Nike*, in the left a shield. Another of the archbishops had a counterseal on which is the valuable impression of a large ancient oval Christian gem, about two and three-eighth inches by an inch and a half in dimensions. Here are delineated the two conventional busts of St. Peter with short curled hair and beard, and of St. Paul with longer beard, *en médaillon*, to the right: in the spaces of the setting, between the gem and the legend, are two archbishops adoring their heavenly patrons. The legend is of much interest:

'SECRETUM · DOTANT · QUOS · DUO · SIGNA · NOTANT.'

Other legends of a similar nature relating to the patron saints are those used by William de Melton, 1328:

'PROTEGE · PETRE · PETO · WILLELMUM · ET · PAULE · FAVETO';

William de la Zouche, 1342:

'TESTIBUS · HIIS · SIGNO · CAUSAS · CUM · MARGINE · DIGNO';

John Thoresby, 1352:

'SIS · MULTIS · ANNIS · PETRE · DUX · ET · PAULE · JOHANNIS.'

Other saints delineated on York seals are St. Germanus; the Virgin and Child; St. John Evangelist, 1392; the Trinity; Saints Andrew, Chad, Wilfrid and Oswald, 1407; St. Catharine and St. Margaret, 1452; St. Andrew, 1501. St. Peter half-submerged in waves (haply a recondite innuendo) is found on a *sede vacante* seal of the Court, but armorial devices are more frequently found on the later examples. St. Daniel, the Bishop, appears, perhaps for the only time in the history of the

seal-engraver's art, on a seal of an archdeacon in 1380; Saints Lawrence and Denis on that of one of the archdeacons of the East Riding in 1322.

The Bishops of Carlisle followed the usual current of the times in the designs of their seals. St. Peter's effigy, and the Coronation of the Virgin, are favoured subjects. The Cathedral seal here is peculiar. The obverse bears the Virgin and Child, between two angels censing them, on a Gothic bridge with embattled wall below; on the reverse, the counterseal of the prior, is the impression of an antique gem engraved with Fortune or Minerva, helmeted, with an ancient inscription on the gem, not quite perfect, DIVS · F . . ., faintly impressed on the wax. Chester Diocese, a late foundation, rejoices chiefly in armorial designs, and the Cathedral seal of 1541 is of the new Italian style with effigies on the obverse of the Virgin praying at a lectern, addressed by our Lord with nimbus, cross, and scroll inscribed:

'SALVE · SANCTA · PARENS · REGINA';

on the reverse the Reformer King Henry VIII. enthroned, in majesty, between St. Oswald and the Virgin Mary.

To Durham belongs one of the highest places in the category of Episcopal seals, for the excellence of workmanship, beauty of balance and proportion in the finest period of the art, and variety of interest in the designs of the numerous examples that are extant. Bishop Richard de Marsh, 1217, represents on his counterseal our Lord sitting in Judgment on a rainbow with the hands placed on the shoulders of two saints, perhaps Cuthbert the Patron, and John Baptist, with appropriate legend:

'HOC · ONUS · UT · SIT · HONOS · TIBI · LARGIOR · HOSQUE · PATRONOS.'

In another of the same prelate's seals, a *marsh* is represented in allusion by way of rebus to the surname.

Bishop Nicholas, 1241, worships the Virgin and Child on his counterseal, with the rhyming prayer:

'NATO · CONCILIA · NICHOLAUM · VIRGO · MARIA.'

Bishop Walter Kirkham, 1249, delineates St. Cuthbert with feet resting on the cathedral roof, and his own effigy in adoration ejaculates:

'PRESUL · CUTHBERTE · REGNEM · SUPER · ETHERA · PER · TE.'

His successor, Bishop Robert de Stichill, puts on a similar reverse the legend in equally halting verse:

'SIT · MICHI · CUTHBERTE · ROBERTO · GLORIA · PER · TE.'

An iambic third foot following a spondee second foot frequently occurs in hexameters on seals.

The potent Christian pioneers Cuthbert and Oswald are favourite saints here in this northern diocese, and among other designs there occurs the Coronation of the Virgin on the florid but very beautiful seal of the powerful and politically influential Anthony Beck. The seals of Bishops Kellaw, 1311-1316, and Lewis de Beaumont, 1318-1333, are remarkably beautiful, and the later seals, where armorial designs occur in conjunction with sacred subjects, contribute to our knowledge some of the finest examples of the best period of the seal-engraver's art. The Bishops of this See had their peculiar Palatine jurisdiction duly represented by special circular seals for their Palatinate, in which they appear as secular princes, in armour, with heraldic bearings and the panoply of a military leader on the one side, with a reverse bearing an effigy of the bishop accompanied by appropriate tableaux of the Archangel Michael and St. George respectively in combat with the pernicious powers of darkness and evil represented by dragons or serpentine lizards. These Palatinate seals were carried down as recently as to the nineteenth century. Among the excellent designs of

subordinate seals of the diocese of Durham, there are found fine representations of the Annunciation of the Virgin. The earliest seal of the Cathedral is of very great age, perhaps of the tenth or eleventh century. It is Anglo-Saxon in its motive, a small cross with a saltire superimposed on it. Its counterseal, about an inch and a half in diameter, has the impression of a very fine antique intaglio engraved gem, bearing the bust of Jupiter Serapis, bearded, and wearing the *modius* head-dress, with which the chief of all the gods is often attired in classical illustrations. There are later copies of this seal. The New Foundation, in 1541, constituted a new seal of poor art and strange design: Persons in contemporary dress are adoring the Lord seated in judgment on the one side, on the other is seen the Assumption of the Virgin, attended by the Personages of the Trinity.

Of the seals of the archdeacon there is one worthy of notice, of the fourteenth century. It is attributed doubtfully to a John whose surname has not survived. The design is a cross on a cushion between the emblems of the Four Evangelists, and the legend in halting verse is:

'DILUE · DELICTA · JOHANNIS · CRUX · BENEDICTA.'

William Turner, Archdeacon of Northumberland, 1676-1685, represents on his seal a church with embattled and domed tower, accompanied with armorial bearings. Richard, who was treasurer of Durham in 1310, gives an illustration of our Lord on the Cross, adored by an ecclesiastic in these words:

'O · CRUX · SANCTA · DEI · DA · RICARDUM · REQUIEI.'

The cult of the cross is thus seen to have been constant and prominent at Durham for many centuries.

Sodor and Man is the last of the Dioceses of which we shall notice the seals. Mark, who occupied the See of Sodor from 1275 to 1303, has a good seal, bearing his

effigy with embroidered vestments and pastoral staff in a trefoiled niche, after the customary manner of the period. Bishop Thomas Burton, who sat at Man, 1455-1458, shows in his seal the gradual enrichment which was going on in this class of seal. John Campbell, Postulate Bishop of Sodor, and Commendator of the Priory of Ardchattan, one of the three monasteries of the remarkable Vallis Caulium Order that had been founded in Scotland, used, in 1561, a seal which shows the further progress of the art. Here the personal effigy is abandoned, to make room for that of St. Columba, wearing a mitre, lifting up the right hand in the act of pronouncing a blessing, and in the left hand holding a bird, perhaps a dove, in symbolical allusion to his name. This is set in a canopied niche with its sides enhanced by the addition of tabernacle work. The pastoral staff which should accompany the saint has been ingeniously introduced into the lower part of the seal, where a shield of the family arms of the bishop is set on it, between his initials I. C. This seal is of Scottish workmanship.

We have now passed under notice some of the best of the Episcopal seals of England. They are all of the greatest interest, and represent a very fine class of design and work. Their study requires much research, because of the many and varied points which they elucidate. Personal history, the variation in the composition of the Dioceses, the progress of the seal-engraver's art, heraldry both of the See and the family of the prelate, changes in architectural taste, and variety of the vestments used, saints and their emblems, and, lastly, ingeniously constructed mottoes and rhyming verses (not always in faultless metre), are all illustrated by this large class of seals which yield to no other in beauty and attractiveness. The vesical, or pointed oval form, is more generally used, and the dimensions are moderate but not too small, for the illustrating of so many biblical and religious episodes required space for their delineation, but of course there are many departures from this rule.

CHAPTER V

SEALS OF ENGLISH MONASTERIES, ABBEYS, PRIORIES AND MONASTIC ORDERS

A LARGE class of seals is comprehended in this division. England was rich in monastic establishments belonging to many different orders of monks, nuns, and friars, some of which had been founded in a very remote period and had passed through many vicissitudes during the progress of the centuries which brought them all to their dissolution in the reign of Henry VIII. Others date their beginning from the twelfth or thirteenth century, a period of the greatest activity in the monastic world, when the religious house, be it of what order it might, represented the home of the philosopher, the litterateur, the scientific student, the physician and surgeon, the artist,—in fact the votary of every branch of human knowledge and research except the military profession. In these remote days the monastery, while fostering religion, succoured the sick and the poor, educated the studious, encouraged the author, sheltered the recluse, assisted research, and was generally the life and centre of all that constituted the peaceful progress of the popular development, and the emollition of manners and customs. Apart from the pursuit of arms and the glory and glamour of the royal court, there was no other choice for the youth of noble birth, but to embrace the regular or the monastic church. While the peasants tilled the same lands which their fathers and grandfathers had tended before them, and their sons and grandsons would, in due turn, take upon themselves, *adscripti glebæ*, unable, by reason of legal

disability, to remove from the village or town of their birthplace, forced to follow in the footsteps of their 'rude forefathers,' the younger sons of the nobles—(there was no middle class in those days)—could scarcely remain in their fathers' mansions, and were constrained to find congenial homes and pursuits elsewhere. Hence it was that so many found a refuge in the religious establishments which seem to have sprung up on every side, specially adapted to fill the want of an asylum for such as those who would have had to find with difficulty a befitting career.

The seals of these institutions are numerous. Every one of them is attractive, instructive, and desirable. They are for the most part unconventional as to subject, but the Virgin Mary and the Child, the patron saint, or the representation of the fabric of the house itself, are favourite modes of design, and furnish the more usual scenes that are found on their seals. Dealing with these religious houses in order of alphabet, and selecting, from the very numerous specimens, those that strike us more forcibly for the interesting character of their devices, the following may be taken as representative of this class. Abbotsbury Benedictine Abbey, in co. Dorset, dedicated to St. Peter, an ancient foundation, had a seal of the eleventh century representing, more or less accurately, one of the fronts of the church on a base resembling an arcade. Aberconway, a Cistercian abbey in Carnarvonshire, under the patronage of the Virgin, represents the Virgin and Child with heraldic accompaniments. Abingdon, a celebrated Benedictine house in Berkshire, used a similar *motif*, emblematic of its patron, and John Sante, abbot, 1469-1495, Papal Commissary, and Ambassador from England to the Papal Court, adopted the same symbol with additional figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. St. John's Hospital in this town represented a figure of St. John Baptist with his Agnus Dei, between two trees for a wilderness: the whole represented by a part, in obedience to a valuable canon of art. Alcester or Alencester, a Benedictine

abbey of St. Mary and St. John Baptist, co. Warwick, delineates St. John with his Lamb. Alnwick, a Premonstratensian abbey dedicated to the Virgin, in Northumberland, had an interesting design of the Coronation of the patron saint, in use in the fifteenth century. The Prioress of the Benedictine Monastery of Amesbury in Wiltshire in 1202, Isabella of Lancaster, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was of royal blood, and on her seal of office her effigy is accompanied with the armorial bearings of her pedigree. The Priory of Anglesey, in Cambridgeshire, an Austin house, delineates the Virgin with the Four Evangelists. Ankerwyke, a very ancient Benedictine priory in Buckinghamshire, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, depicts the view of the priory church as it stood in the twelfth century. Here we observe 'half-timbered' walls, round-headed door, thatched and crested roof, bell-turret, and gables topped with crosses: the whole forming a valuable picture of an early monastery of modest dimensions, quite foreign to the later pomp and glory of the Benedictines after they had become the richest Order in England. Arundel College of the Blessed Trinity, co. Sussex, shows in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries figures of the Trinity, the earlier example being accompanied with armorial bearings. The Augustine College of 'Bonshommes' at Ashridge, co. Buckingham, delineated on an altar the Agnus Dei of St. John, with a lion rampant for Edmund, son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, its founder, in 1283. Athelney, Benedictine abbey of high renown in co. Somerset, dedicated to St. Saviour, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Athelwine, has left us a seal of the eleventh century bearing a remarkable view of the abbey church from the south with very curious details, which appeal to the student of early architectural forms in England. The fifteenth-century seal depicts the patron saints in canopied niches, accompanied with the armorial shields belonging to the abbey. Attleborough Collegiate house or Chantry of the Exaltation

of the Cross, in Norfolk, has a fifteenth-century design of the Lord on the Cross. Axholm, a Carthusian priory in Lincolnshire dedicated to the 'Visitation of the Virgin,' shows the unusual scene of the 'Salutation,' with heraldry pointing to the Earl of Nottingham, Thomas Mowbray, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, the founder, 1395. The Grey Friars of Aylesbury, co. Buckingham, depict their patron St. Francis, adored by a friar.

Banbury Leper-house, in Oxfordshire, has a thirteenth-century seal bearing a patriarchal cross in reference to St. John. Bardney Benedictine Abbey in Lincolnshire, under the tutelary care of Saints Peter, Paul, and Oswald, has a very ancient seal, perhaps as old as the foundation in 1086. This is of concave shape, about an inch and three-quarters in diameter, showing on the one side an effigy of St. Oswald, crowned and enthroned, the side feet of the throne terminating after the French manner, with animals' claws. The form of the letters in the legend is very archaic. The counterseal of this belongs to Abbot Peter de Barton, and is a representation of the abbey church, with niches containing the Virgin and Child, St. Peter, St. Oswald, and the abbot in the lower part adoring the celestial patrons. Abbot Matthew, 1217-1233, had an ancient oval intaglio gem set in a ring, and used it as a counterseal. The device is the full-length figure of a deity, and the legend when perfect reads 'TECTA · LEGE · LECTA · TEGE,' a not uncommon motto of universal use in the middle ages, and worthy even now to be inscribed on many a seal and stored up in many a mind. The second seal is of the early fourteenth century and bears effigies of the patrons, beautifully drawn and engraved, accompanied with armorial bearings of the abbey, a cross between four lions rampant.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary and St. Ethelburga of Barking in Essex had a thirteenth-century pointed oval seal of large dimensions, about three inches by two, delineated with figures of St. Erkenwald, St. Ethelburga, and another, perhaps St. Hildelitha, under three arches,

with crescent and sun-star; above the arcade the Virgin and Child between St. Peter and St. Paul, the latter holding his emblem the sword, by the blade. At the sides are tall candles in candlesticks. The Abbess Matildis, early in the thirteenth century, had a ring set with an oval gem, as ancient as the first years of the Christian epoch, bearing the engraving of St. George, on a horse, attacking the dragon with a long spear. This legend, like some others now unfortunately considered idle and childish fables, is really a survival of oral tradition handed down from the far-off palæontozoic period, when the human animal, emerging into manship and divinely taught, strove with the monster Saurians of the now extinct past for a place upon the earth, and became paramount by reason of the divine afflatus which the Creator had breathed into His handiwork. St. Margaret, in like manner, tramples on the dragon, and pierces its head with a long cross, on the curious fourteenth-century seal used by the Prior of Barham, dedicated to St. Cross, near Linton, in Cambridgeshire. The Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Mary at Barlings or Oxeney, in Lincolnshire, an institution of considerable fame and influence, had a fine thirteenth-century pointed oval seal bearing a representation of the patron, enthroned under a church-like canopy with arch supported on four slender columns, and holding the Infant Saviour. In the lower part, under an arch, is the head of an *ox*, in erroneous allusion to the name of Oxeney. The signet of Abbot Thomas de Maryng, in 1328, bears our Lord on the Cross in a cusped panel, with the owner's name in the field and an appropriate invocation. A later counterseal, used in 1403, is of the pointed oval form, nearly two and a half by one and a half inches in dimensions. The design is very full. The Virgin crowned, and holding a sceptre and the Child, in a canopied niche, has the Almighty Father above her in a smaller niche; similar niches at the sides contain figures of St. John Baptist with the Lamb of God and St. John Evangelist with chalice and palm

branch, his emblems. The lower part of this tableau holds the abbot, adoring the heavenly personages, between two shields of arms. Abbot Akarius, 1203-1223, used the symbol of an *ox* passant guardant, with a long cross before it. Barnstaple, a Cluniac priory in Devonshire, had the figure of St. Mary Magdalene in a niche, the patron saint of the house. Barnwell, in Cambridgeshire, an Augustinian priory dedicated to St. Giles and St. Andrew, had a twelfth-century seal bearing a representation of St. Giles. Battle Abbey, in Sussex, a Benedictine abbey dedicated to the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and St. Martin, depicted on its fine twelfth-century seal a view of the abbey church from the north, with interesting details of architecture clearly drawn, and having the abbot seated under the central span, and an arcade in the base. The second seal of this abbey, used about 1212, gives another view of the church, with its towers, doorway, arcaded clerestory, and on each side of the two topmost turrets a flag. It may be that the edifice had been rebuilt, or altered, during the interval between the making of the two seals, unless they are to be taken as purely fanciful and conventional. In this case, then, the conventionalism of the twelfth century gave way to an advanced conventionalism of the succeeding century. St. Thomas of Canterbury, the martyred primate, was the patron of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Beauchief in Derbyshire, and the scene of his martyrdom forms the subject of the thirteenth-century seal. There was a Hospital dedicated to the same saint and martyr at Bec in Billingford, co. Norfolk, founded by William de Bec in the reign of King Henry III.; the fourteenth-century seal depicts the Virgin and Child, with architectural and armorial adjuncts, and in the base a figure is given of Thomas Bec or Bek, Bishop of Lincoln, 1342-1347, one of the founder's kin, whose prayer in the legend is

'SALVA · PRECE · PIA · THOMAM · BEC · VIRGO · MARIA.'

John Franklin, a fourteenth-century master of this house, here appears, but without absolute certainty, to have used a compound design or *gryllus*, consisting of four human faces in profile set on two claws of an eagle.

The Hospital of St. John Baptist at Bedford had an oval seal, with the effigy of its tutelary protector holding a scroll and standing on a hillock or 'mount' replenished with flowers, to represent the wilderness which blossoms as a rose (Isaiah xxxv. 1). Berden Priory, in Essex, a little-known house, delineated its patron, St. John Evangelist, on its fifteenth-century seal. The saint holds his emblems, a chalice with a serpent issuing from out thereof, to which he is pointing. This is in accordance with the legend of the saint. The Cluniac Abbey of Bermondsey in Surrey, dedicated to the Saviour, has a remarkable design on its third seal, used in the fourteenth century. It is the Transfiguration of our Lord, who holds a book, and lifts up his hand to give a blessing, between Moses and Elias. In the foreground are half-length figures of St. Peter, St. James, and St. John. The Transfiguration also appears on the seal of Faversham Abbey, in Kent. The tableau is not wanting in the crescent and wavy sun-star, which indicate, *inter alia*, the open air of the firmament. The reverse shows the mystical figure of our Lord, with cruciferous nimbus and cross-topped orb, signalised by the legend:

'EGO · SUM · VIA · VERITAS · ET · VITA.'

Another reverse, used in the fifteenth century upon the fourth seal (which is of fine work made in the fourteenth century), represents the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

Beverley, in Yorkshire, gives St. John on the seal of Citations used by the Collegiate Church, and St. Dominic on that belonging to the Black Friars. Bilsington in Kent, an Austin Canons' priory of St. Mary, had a seal in the fourteenth century bearing the

design of the Coronation of the Virgin by an angel, while below, under an arcaded corbel, John Mansell, Provost of Beverley, the founder, holds a model of the building, and is attended by four kneeling canons. Binham, a Norfolk priory of the Benedictine Order, gives a twelfth-century design of the Annunciation. Bisham, in Berkshire, first used a seal on which was delineated the Coronation of the Virgin. In 1537, this Austin Canons' priory was remodelled as a Benedictine abbey dedicated to the Holy Trinity by King Henry VIII., whose royal arms are placed below a representation of the Trinity. Bissemede, or Bushmead, priory of Austin Canons, co. Bedford, adds to the design of the Virgin Mary with the Divine Child attended by two bishops, the prior in adoration and other subordinate details, the false etymology of *Presulis pratum* for 'Bishopsmead,' in the legend:

'PRESULIS · IN · PRATO · FAMULOR · DE · VIRGINE · NATO.'

The Cistercian Abbey of Bittlesden, in the county of Buckingham, had several seals bearing the not uncommon device of an arm and hand, holding a pastoral staff, sometimes accompanied with the star and crescent. Among the abbots' seals, that of Giffard, 1228-1236, is from an antique oval intaglio gem, bearing a figure of the goddess Minerva, with helmet and spear, and inscribed: 'VIVE · UT · PLACEAS · DEO.' That of William, 1264-1286, had a gem seal of archaic art design, bearing a bust wearing a double tiara, inscribed 'JHESU MERCI.' This attribution of Christian portraiture to subjects originating with classic mythology compares with the frequent adaptation of pagan temples to Christian worship during the earliest period of Christianity in England in obedience to the commands of the Church. Bodmin, in Cornwall, delineates, on the priory seal, the two patrons, the Virgin Mary and St. Petroc. Bolton Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr, in like way, places

on its seal the patron, with mitre and staff, blessing a chalice on an altar. There is a second seal of this Hospital, giving the martyrdom of the same saint. Both seals are of rude workmanship. The noteworthy Cistercian Abbey of Bordesley, in Worcestershire, depicts the Coronation of the Virgin. The Benedictine Priory of St. Mary and St. Blaise at Boxgrave, in Sussex, had a thirteenth-century seal with perforated obverse through which, as in windows, the figures of our Lord, two monks, and St. Blaise are shown. The design of the obverse is the Annunciation, within an elevation of the priory church. The reverse shows the Virgin and Child between two *box*-trees, on each of which is a bird. The legend of this side reads:

'DICITUR · EX · LIGNO · VIRIDI · BOXGRAVIA · DIGNO.'
'NOMINE · NAM · CRESCIT · VIRTUTIBUS · ATQUE · VIRESCIT.'

There are two states of this remarkable seal.

The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary at Boxley, in Kent, had a fine seal, showing the Virgin and Child, on a richly carved throne, with many interesting details, including the rebus of two *box*-trees. The legend, in two concentric rings, reads in the innermost:

'SIT · BUXUS · (GRATA ?) TIBI · CORDI · VIRGO · BEATA.'

The reverse depicts St. Benedict and St. Bernard under a canopy, and accompanied with two similar trees with appropriate verses:

'QUI · LAUDANT · HIC · TE · DEFENDE · TUOS · BENEDICTE,' etc.

Bradsole, a Premonstratensian abbey of St. Radegund, in Kent, gives an effigy of the patron. Brecknock Priory of St. John Evangelist, co. Brecon, delineates the Eagle of St. John, standing reguardant on a demi-wheel as described by Ezekiel the Prophet and seer. Bridgwater

Priory, or Hospital, of St. John Baptist, co. Somerset, gives a *bridge* over the river, with the Virgin and Child thereon, between St. John with the Agnus, and a saint conjectured to be St. Paul. Bristol, among other religious houses in that city, had an interesting figure of St. Mary Magdalene with her emblem, a box for ointment, on the seal of the Leper Hospital near Britbow. The church of St. Stephen in the same had an effigy of the patron saint on its late seal. Bromholm, a Cluniac priory of St. Andrew, in Norfolk, shows a view of the priory, with St. Andrew holding the patriarchal 'Cross of Bromholm,' famous in the middle ages for its miraculous powers. This is of the thirteenth century.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary and St. Modwenna at Burton-on-Trent, in Staffordshire, had a fine early thirteenth-century seal, showing the Virgin, or perhaps St. Modwenna, crowned, holding a book and a fleur-de-lis, and seated on a throne resembling a church with four turrets, thatched and pinnacled with a ball. The reverse gives the effigy of St. Modwenna, a full-faced bust. Burton-St.-Lazarus, Hospital and chief house of the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, co. Leicester, had a fourteenth-century seal, bearing the figure of St. Lazarus, the bishop, with a three-pronged fork, accompanied with the armorial bearings of Roger de Mowbray, the founder. There are several seals of this hospital, and all bear the effigy of this saint. Bury St. Edmunds, the Benedictine abbey of Suffolk, dedicated to the Anglo-Saxon king and martyr whose name it bears, had many fine seals of the house and its abbots. The earliest seal, of the twelfth century, shows St. Edmund, enthroned in majesty, on a throne, the terminals of which resemble the heads and feet of animals. A later seal represents the abbey church, and on its reverse gives the scene of the saint's martyrdom in base of an ornamental saltire cross. A wolf guards the severed head of the martyr, in accordance with the tradition, and above is the Almighty Father, holding a

crown between two angels; on the cross other two angels receive the soul in a cloth, after the usual mediæval manner of representation. The tableau of the martyrdom appears also on a later seal. The descriptive verses in the legend of the early seal are worth recording:

'TELIS · CONFODITUR · EADMUNDUS · ET · ENSE · FERITUR · BESTIA · QUEM · MUNIT · DEUS · HUNC · CELESTIBUS · UNIT.'

The decollation of this notable saint appears on the reverse of Abbot Simon de Luton's seal, 1257-1279; here also a wolf guards the head, and the Virgin with the Child is over the canopy. The verse is curious for its quaintness:

'VIRGO · DEUM · FERT · DUX · CAPUD · AUFERT · QUOD · LUPUS · HIC · FERT.'

Another seal, that of Walter, an uncertain abbot or prior of the thirteenth century, shows the wolf holding the crowned head of the martyr king, and in the background a tree, with legend:

'OSTENDUNT · SIGNUM · GALTERI · REX · LUPA · LIGNUM.'

The Vice-Warden of the Cambridge Grey Friars used, about the year 1244, a pointed oval seal bearing a shield of the fabulous arms bestowed by the heralds upon our Lord. These arms vary in character, and there is an excellent treatise on them in the *Journal* of the British Archæological Association from the pen of the late illustrious antiquary, Mr. H. Syer Cuming. In this seal we see a 'cross raguly debruised by a spear and a crown of thorns in bend dexter and a sponge on a staff in bend sinister, between two threefold *flagella* in base,' truly a formidable array of the instruments used in the Passion. Christ Church Monastery, Canterbury, affected, in like manner as we have seen was the case with the cathedral, the scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas.

The Benedictine Abbey of St. Augustine naturally represented its patron. One of the seals, in very archaic work of the eleventh century, is round and has the saint wearing a flat mitre and *pallium*. Another, made in 1188-9, has the saint on the one side, and on the other St. Paul and St. Peter. The design, which is somewhat uncertain, has been thought to represent the baptism of Ethelbert, King of Kent. Herod seems to be crouching under an arch in the base. There was an altered state of this seal. The fourteenth-century seal is full of detail, the principal being Augustine baptising the King in the interior of the Conventual Church, with St. Peter, St. Paul, a king, monks, and angels dispersed in the field architecture of the design. The reverse delineates St. Augustine, Birinus, Bishop of Dorchester, Queen Bertha, the Archbishops Theodore and Justus, the horned head of Moses, a dragon, a wyvern, and other interesting devices. It is enhanced by a cleverly composed rhymed distich. A signet ring of one of the priors, in 1263, bears the impression of an antique oval gem, engraved with the favourite subject of Hercules strangling the Nemæan Lion. The gem is set between a crescent and a star, and the setting carries an ingenious rhymed verse. The patron saints appear respectively on the seals of houses of religion dedicated to them. The Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary at Carow, near Norwich, had a curious twelfth-century seal of very archaic design. The Virgin in profile, enthroned, holding the Child and a sceptre, has a crown of three points, and her hair is confined in a net. A somewhat later seal varies the treatment of the subject, and is provided with a counterseal, bearing our Lord on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John. The second seal of the Cluniac Priory of St. Mary at Castle Acre, in Norfolk, has an artistic design of the Assumption of the Virgin.

Castle Rising Hospital, co. Norfolk, has a pointed oval seal of the seventeenth century, bearing the effigy of Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, the founder, in

armorial habit, and kneeling on a tasselled cushion. His effigy is also shown in much the same fashion on the seal of Clunn Hospital, co. Salop. The Benedictine Abbey of Cerne, in Dorsetshire, delineates the Church with the early founders, Augustine and Ethelmer. The abbot's seal shows the Virgin and Child, St. Catharine and St. Margaret. The Benedictine Abbey of Chertsey, co. Surrey, dedicated to St. Peter, had a very old seal showing the abbey church from the north, in the eleventh century, if we may trust the engraver to have truly drawn the edifice as he saw it. St. Peter, crucified with his head downwards in accordance with tradition, is seen on a thirteenth-century counterseal here. Chester Abbey, St. Werburgh's Benedictine Monastery, and now the Cathedral, shows elegantly designed architectural views of the church, with St. Werburgh, St. Peter, St. Paul, and other details. The Prioresses of Cheshunt, a Benedictine nunnery in co. Hertford, had a charming little seal, on which was the effigy of St. Mary with the Child.

Chich, or St. Osyth's, Austin Canons' Priory in Essex, on one seal bears St. Osyth holding her dissevered head, between the sword of St. Paul and the key of St. Peter. Clerkenwell Nunnery had a twelfth-century seal of much beauty: the design being the Virgin and Child, the mother's vestment partly embroidered. Cokersand Premonstratensian Abbey of St. Mary and St. Augustine, in co. Lancaster, had a very representative design; three architectural niches, one over the other, forming a fine *façade*, and containing God the Father with book, and giving a blessing, attended by thurifer angels, the Virgin and Child, and the abbot in prayer. This belongs to the advanced art period of the fourteenth century. Colchester Abbey of St. John Baptist, in Essex, a Benedictine house, had among many other seals a counterseal with an antique gem, on which was engraved the fantastic and imaginary design known as a *gryllus*, a combination consisting of the heads of an ass and a cock, as well as other objects, the whole so skilfully

grouped together as to represent a figure of Venus with two small *putti* or *Erotes*, one on each side shooting at her with the bow, and accompanied with an appropriate motto. The seal of this abbey, which may be called its 'Great Seal,' bears on the one side St. John Baptist, St. Peter, and St. Paul, with their proper emblems, and armorial bearings, all in architectural enclosures, and, on the reverse, St. John Evangelist, holding a chalice, out of which in accordance with tradition rises a dragon; accompanied by angels; the eagle of St. John; suitable armorial bearings, one of which is that of the abbey: a cross within a bordure, over all an escarbuncle of eight staves fleury; and a rhyming distich of invocation of St. John. The Austin Canons' Priory of St. Botulph here had a thirteenth-century seal, showing our Lord enthroned, between St. Botulph and St. Julian the Bishop. Even the Anchoress Agnes of the Church of la Hethe had a seal, in 1285, bearing an inverted fleur-de-lis, but this is really a private and personal seal.

Combe Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary, in co. Warwick, had a thirteenth-century Chapter seal, on which are the Virgin and Child, St. Bernard, and armorials. St. Mary Magdalene, the patron, appears on the seals of Combwell Priory, an Austin Canons' house in Kent. In the second seal, which is of the thirteenth century, she is seated, under the arch of the church, at our Lord's feet, who sits at a banquet with two disciples, and utters the words:

'MARIA · FIDES · TUA · TE · SALVAM · FECIT.'

Below the tablecloth are the demons who have been cast out of the saint, according to the testimony of St. Mark; in the centre is a small box of precious unguent, and overhead a star and a crescent enclosing a star. The reverse of this fine seal gives the dramatic scene of the *Noli me tangere*, of great beauty, and the legend relates the date of making the seal. The seal of Cottingham

Priory, in Yorkshire, had one of the most elaborate seals of this monastic class. On the one side appears an elevation of the church, with accompanying armorial bearings, all set in a rosette of eight cusps, richly designed and ornamented: on the other, in a similar rosette, an architectural design, or *façade*, of three storeys, containing representations of our Lord on the cross attended with saints and thurifer angels; the prior praying between St. Peter and St. Paul; and a group of religious inmates in prayer, the founder Thomas, Lord Wake, his lady, and the heraldic bearings of the founder's family. The legend is a long Norman-French sentence relating the name of the founder, date of foundation, and the dedication of the house to the True Cross, our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul. It is curious that although the Virgin is one of the patrons, her effigy is not found on this seal, which was made in 1332. Croydon Hospital of St. Trinity, in Surrey, delineates on the seal the rare design of 'Dives and Lazarus,' and overhead, in a gallery of elegant work, the equally unique subject of King Ahasuerus and Queen Esther at a feast, accompanied in base with the arms of Archbishop Whitgift, 1583-1604.

Crowland Benedictine Abbey of St. Guthlac the Anchorite, in the Lincolnshire fens, had a twelfth-century seal with the saint's effigy, within a bevelled rim, which is a characteristic of archaic workmanship. The counterseal bears the impression of an antique gem, engraved with the classic head perhaps of Janus, and that of a youth. A later seal shows St. Bartholomew the Apostle, with his book, giving St. Guthlac a flagellum or whip of three lashes with which he was to drive away the evil spirits of the ague-infested marshes. The bird, an emblem also of Guthlac, and a bust, are also introduced into the design. Dartford Nunnery, in Kent, depicts on one seal the Coronation of the Virgin; and St. Margaret and King Edward III. on a later one. Dover Benedictine Priory of St. Martin gives the patron saint, on a horse, sharing his mantle with a beggar, after

the accepted tradition. The reverse shows the saint lying on a bed, and overhead is our Lord issuing from the heavens, holding the saint's cloak and a book. Alban Butler's account of the saint explains the unusual tableau. The legend here is

'MARTINI · VESTE · SUM · TECTUS · PAUPERE · TESTE,'

which eloquently and tersely sums up the scene in a single line of Leonine verse constructed after the canon which governs these poetical efforts. There is a second form of this seal with greater elaboration of detail.

The Priors of Durham had many interesting seals, one of which, in the fourteenth century, bears the heads of St. Oswald and St. Cuthbert beautifully delineated, and engraved with consummate skill. Easby Abbey in Yorkshire, a Premonstratensian house, depicts St. Agatha, the patron; Edindon Priory, co. Wilts, gives St. Peter and St. Paul; Ely Benedictine Nunnery, in co. Cambridge, depicts St. Etheldreda. Evesham Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary and St. Ecgwine, co. Worcester, had a remarkable seal with a tableau illustrating the legend of the swineherd Eoves, accompanied by a middle English descriptive couplet, with effigies of the sainted Bishop Ecgwine, of Worcester, adoring the Virgin, who also appears in another part of the field, revealing herself to Eoves. The reverse is complicated, and consists of two portions: in the upper storey the bishop presents his model foundation to the Virgin and Child; in the lower storey are the three royal benefactors and patrons of the abbey, Kenred, King of Mercia, Offa, King of the East Angles, and Ethelred, all presenting a document, inscribed and furnished with a seal, to the kneeling prelate who is attended with his chaplain. The legend is a descriptive couplet:

'DICTIS · ECGWINI · DANT · REGES · MUNERA · TRINI ·
OMNIBUS · UNDE · PIE · NITET · AULA · SACRATA · MARIE.'

A late copy of this seal blunders the English verse, a

fact which seems to show that the proper reading had been forgotten or the early seal lost. There is also another seal of different shape, and with altered details.

Exeter Benedictine Priory of St. Nicholas had a twelfth-century seal, bearing a castellated monastery, accompanied with armorial bearings. The Cluniacs of Farleigh, co. Wilts, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, delineate on one seal the martyrdom of their patron, on another the favourite subject of the *Noli me tangere*. The early seal of Faversham Abbey, co. Kent, a Benedictine house dedicated to St. Saviour, gives a mystical figure of our Lord in judgment on a rainbow, as Alpha and Omega. On a later seal here are St. Peter and St. Paul, within architectural niches, and on a reverse the abbey church enclosing a tableau of our Lord, Moses, and Elias, as at the 'Transfiguration,' accompanied with the emblems of the Four Evangelists, thurifer angels, and in base three crouching figures who have been conjectured to represent Judas, Arius, and Julian the Apostate. The legend reads:

'TRANSFIGURATUR · VELUT · ET · SOL · CLARIFICATUR.'

The transfiguration is also depicted in the seal of Bermondsey Abbey. Flixton Priory, in Suffolk, gives our Lord on the Cross between St. Mary and St. John. Folkestone Priory depicts the patron St. Eanswitha. Fotheringay Collegiate Church, in co. Northampton, depicts the Annunciation, with accompaniment of royal armorial bearings.

Glastonbury, the oldest religious house in England, a Benedictine abbey dedicated to the Virgin Mary (perhaps destined, if the recent discovery of a supposed Holy Vessel has any spiritual value, to lead a new movement of religious activity in our land), delineates St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and the patron, holding a branch of the Holy Thorn Tree, which grew there from a slip of the Crown of Thorns brought by St. Joseph of Arimathea, if legend speaks true. The legend is

'TESTIS · ADEST · ISTI · SCRIPTO · GENETRIX · PIA · CHRISTI · GLASTONIE.'

On the reverse are figures of St. Dunstan, St. Patrick, and St. Benignus, with their names inscribed on the plinth. Below are St. Dunstan taking the Devil's nose in a pair of pincers, and other scenes, to the accompaniment of the legend:

'CONFIRMANT · HAS · RES · INSCRIPTI · PONTIFICES · TRES.'

The Hospital of St. John Baptist here has the usual effigy of the patron, with the Lamb of God on a plaque, to which the saint is pointing. Gloucester had several religious houses with seals. The Benedictine Abbey was dedicated to St. Peter, and an early twelfth-century seal shows this patron, both on the obverse and reverse. Thomas Carbonel, the abbot from 1178 to 1212, possessed a *secretum*, or ring seal of personal use, set with an antique oval intaglio, on which is shown a huntsman catching a fawn by the hind legs, under a tree. This illustrates the curious mode of hunting these creatures in classic times. Heraldry, as is always the case, appears here on the later seals. The Hospital or Priory of St. Bartholomew, near the west gate of the city, gives a realistic scene of the martyrdom of its patron, who is standing between two executioners, one of whom carries a large knife, the other is flaying the saint, after the legendary history of the Apostles. Godstow, a Benedictine house under the tutelary care of the Virgin and St. John Baptist, co. Oxford, had a twelfth-century seal, on which are delineated the two chosen protectors of the abbey. At the feet of the Virgin Mary, Ediva, the first abbess, is kneeling in adoration. John Baptist's head in a dish appears on a later counterseal. The Alien Benedictines of St. Mary Magdalene of Goldcliffe, in Monmouth county, naturally, places the patron of the House, with the Virgin and Child and heraldry, on its seal. William, a prior of the thirteenth century, depicts

our Lord in his post-Resurrection, or mystical state, appearing to Mary in the Garden. This is the subject known to mediæval artists as the *Noli me tangere*, to which attention has been drawn several times already in this work. It is not confined to English art, but is found also on Continental seals of religious character. Another prior of the same name affects the same subject, but, somewhat in anachronism, gives our Lord a long cross and banner, and the saint a box of precious unguent. The Austin Canons of Grimsby, co. Lincoln, depict St. Augustine, and King Henry I., the founder, with appropriate armorial bearings. Haliwell Benedictine Priory of St. John Baptist, in Middlesex, departs from the conventional in placing St. John, half-length, issuing from the river Jordan, and holding a book. Haltemprice, a priory of Austin Canons, co. York, is credited with a thirteenth-century signet, or counterseal, bearing the impression of an antique oval gem, engraved in intaglio with a *gryllus* or nondescript composition, consisting of three human faces in profile conjoined to an elephant's head.

The Cistercian Abbey of Hayles St. Mary, co. Gloucester, famous for its possession of a bottle containing some of our Lord's blood, in 1272, obtained by Edward, sixth Earl of Cornwall, son of Earl Richard, the founder, during their travels in Germany, places on its seal a monk on a flight of steps, holding a bottle with globular body and cylindrical neck. This relic was pronounced idolatrous at the Reformation, and suppressed. St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, contributes to our knowledge another effigy of St. Guthlac of Crowland in the fens of Lincolnshire, his proper *locus*, but the fame of the saint travelled far, and the 'Hundred' of Guthlaxton, in co. Leicester, bears witness to the popularity of this notable character. Heringflete Priory, in Suffolk, depicts its patron, St. Olave, king and martyr, enthroned, and holding an axe and a mound or orb topped with a cross, the one his emblem, the other the symbol of royal dignity as a Christian ruler.

Hertland Abbey, in co. Devon, shows the head of its protector, St. Nectanus, on an eleventh-century, and also on a thirteenth-century, seal. Hoddesdon Leper Hospital reproduces an effigy of St. Anthony with his tau-cross, that is, a cross shaped like the capital letter T without headpiece, and his pig, and the horseshoe emblem of St. Clement. Another seal represents the second patron habited in Episcopal vestments, and holding a hammer. Horsham St. Faith, a Benedictine priory in Norfolk, shows St. Faith on the one side, the Coronation of the Virgin on the other, with armorial bearings of the founder :

'ECCE · CORONATA · SEDET · HIC · PIA · VIRGO · MARIA.'

The verse, as in other instances, halts, but the sentiment is orthodox. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Hotteham, in Sussex, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Lawrence, gives on its seal the rare subject of the Last Supper.

Huntingdon Priory used a fourteenth-century seal, with two Biblical scenes on the obverse :—the Coronation of the Virgin ; and the Resurrection of the Dead at the Day of Judgment with trumpeter angels, human figures rising from the ground, and a bishop or mitred abbot emerging from a sepulchre. The reverse shows the priory church, enclosing figures of Augustine, the archbishop, canons, heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, and four busts, with the name of Pope Clement v., 1305-1314, over the roof. Hyde Abbey, Winchester, had a remarkable seal of the twelfth century ; unfortunately the impression that remains is imperfect, but it was of unusual shape. The design is an effigy of St. Peter in an archaic style of composition. The later seal has a figure of the same saint, accompanied by the founder King Edward the Elder, and King Alfred, one of the earliest benefactors. On the reverse is St. Barnabas, the Apostle, attended by the *protégé* of King Alfred, St. Grimbald, the first abbot, and St. Valentine. The legend attached to these rare figures is

'HYDA · PATRONORUM · JUGI · PRECE · TUTA · SIT · HORUM.'

The Austin Priory of Hyrst, in the Isle of Axholme, co. Lincoln, has on the one side the Virgin and Child, on the other the impression of a fine oval Greek gem, bearing a figure of Athene Nikephoros. Ingham College, of the Order of Trinitarians for Redemption of Captives, had a fourteenth-century figure of the Trinity. The Austin Priory of St. Peter and St. Paul at Ipswich, co. Suffolk, gives a beautiful idea of the elevation of the church in the twelfth century, more or less imaginary and conventional, of course, but very valuable as exhibiting diacritical details of the builder's art in that age, between half-length figures of St. Peter and St. Paul. The reverse bears the bust of an ancient emperor with antique crown and breast-knot, being the impression of an ancient intaglio gem with convex surface, or, as it is termed, *en cabochon*. The motto is

'MITTENTIS · CAPITI · CREDITE · SICUT · EI.'

The later seal, found in use in 1321, bears our Lord enthroned in glory as Judge, with book, and uplifted hand giving a blessing, accompanied by the seven candlesticks of the Apocalypse and the emblems of the Four Evangelists, by whose writing the Church declares we are all to stand or fall at the last in the bright sevenfold light of the Virtues. Ixworth Priory of Austin Canons of St. Mary, in Suffolk, has on its fifteenth-century seal a scene of the Assumption of the Virgin, in a vesica of clouds upheld by flying angels to the three persons of the Trinity, and accompanied by other figures and armorial bearings. Kenton, a Benedictine priory of St. Michael, in Wiltshire, depicts the Transfiguration of our Lord, which we have already seen at Bermondsey and Faversham, between the two patriarchs kneeling; overhead is the Spiritual Dove, and in base, the adoring band of disciples. Nun-Kelynge, a Benedictine priory in co. York, dedicated to St. Helen, bears the figure of that saint, on the seal.

Hull, or Kingston-on-Hull, a priory of Austin Friars in the same county, has its patron St. Michael in combat with the arch-enemy of mankind in a canopied niche. The Cistercian abbeys of Kirkstall, in co. York, and Kirkstead, in co. Lincoln, each under the protection of the Virgin, depict their patron, enthroned, and with the Child, in carved niches on fine seals. The Collegiate Church of Knole, in co. Warwick, shows St. Anne instructing the Virgin Mary her daughter. Kyme St. Mary, co. Lincoln, an Austin priory, has a beautiful *tableau* of the Annunciation of the Virgin, who is accompanied at each side by a lily flower, like a fleur-de-lis, growing on a long stalk in a flower-pot. Some of our modern artists of the sentimental school who have ventured to imitate this composition, have altogether failed to grasp the charm which is so clearly expressed in this fine seal of nearly seven hundred years' antiquity. The martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which we have already shown to be a favourite subject with the designer of ecclesiastical seals, appears on that of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Langdon St. Mary, in Kent. Here it is explained by the legend :

'CAUSA · DOMUS · CHRISTI · MORTEM · SIC · INTULIT · ISTI.'

Simon de Middleham, abbot in 1260 of Langley Abbey in Norfolk, a Premonstratensian house dedicated to the Virgin, had a precious signet set with an antique oval concave intaglio gem, which bore the head of Hermes or Mercury, turned in profile to the right, and having the hair bound by a fillet : the abbot, no doubt actuated by the papal precept which enjoined a generous transference of profane devices, customs, and institutions to Christian ideas and principles, explains his possession of the relic of pagan worship, and his pious sentiments, by adding the legend :

'CAPUD · NOSTRUM · CHRISTUS · EST.'

King's Langley Priory of the Black Friars, in co. Hertford, had several beautiful seals. One of these depicts the Coronation of the Virgin, attended by St. Margaret, an archbishop, and King Edward III., as founder. Another bore a scene of the Annunciation, with armorial bearings, and the third and latest shows our Lord sitting in Judgment, on a throne, and lifting up His right hand in blessing. Launceston Priory of St. Stephen, a house of Austin Canons in Cornwall, dedicated to St. Stephen, gives on its earlier seal, of the twelfth century, a valuable view of the modestly built edifice which then stood there. A later seal shows St. John Evangelist, standing on an eagle and between six mitred heads; the eagle, as is often the case, holding in its beak a scroll on which are the opening words of the fourth and greatest Gospel. In the upper part of this seal is given a tableau of the Last Supper, with the Beloved Disciple reclining on the bosom of our Lord. Ledes Priory of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, an Austin Canons' house in Kent, also gives a twelfth-century view of its church, which compares excellently with several other architectural designs found on seals of that distant epoch. The reverse of one of its later seals, made, as the legend declares, in 1293, shows St. Nicholas seated, and attended by two votaries, while below, under an arch of three spans, and between two angels, are the three children in a tub, who, if legend be true, were miraculously restored to life by the saint.

Lees Priory, in Essex, an Austin Canons' house dedicated to St. John Evangelist, of which almost all the literary remains that could throw a light on its history have perished, had a very beautiful seal designed with the eagle of its founder, holding, as usual, an inscribed scroll in its beak. On the reverse is the impression of an antique oval intaglio precious stone, bearing the figure of a sea-horse, or hippocamp, with wings erect and tail nowy, and the Biblical motto:

'FAC · MECUM · SIGNUM · IN · BONO.'

Canon Leigh, an Austin priory of St. Mary and St. John Evangelist, in co. Devon, possessed perhaps one of the most beautifully designed seals—speaking, of course, from the archaic point of view and an appreciation of ancient taste, before the grander glories of the centuries, then yet to come, had dawned on the art world. Here is a twelfth-century device in a pointed oval measuring about two inches and a half by a little over an inch and a half, the Virgin Mary stands holding a flower, on the left-hand side, balanced with St. John, the co-patron, holding his Gospel-book, on the other. They are beneath a double arch, held up by a central shaft, and ornamented with a canopy or superstructure resembling a priory church with three towers. Leicester Abbey, also of the Order of Austin Canons, dedicated to the Assumption of our Lady, and styled 'de Pratis' or 'de Pré,' had a seal of equal antiquity and of equally beautiful design. A later seal of the many which appertain to this institution, delineates the Assumption in a vesica upheld by four angels, leaning forward, with one wing upraised, from out of a canopied niche. This is of the fifteenth century. The Leper hospital of St. Leonard here had two seals, bearing effigies of the patron. In the seal of the Hospital dedicated to the two saints John Baptist and John Evangelist, the latter of the two has been favoured with commemoration by designing the Eagle of the Gospeller holding the inscribed scroll usually associated with him. The Dean and Chapter of Newark College, or St. Mary the Greater, founded in the city of Leicester in 1330, had in use in 1528 an interesting seal bearing the scene of the Annunciation of the Virgin, where both the Virgin and the Archangel messenger carry scrolls inscribed with words or letters to indicate the Divine Message and the Reply. Heraldry, without which scarcely any mediæval artist could be happy, is placed below, referring to Henry, Duke of Lancaster.

Heresy is rarely introduced into seal designs, although we have already noticed figures of Judas and other

lapsed ones. On the seal of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in Newark, Leicester, an arrow with three divergent points, shot from heaven, declares itself to be destined against the Anti-Trinitarians: 'IN ANTI-TRINITARIOS.' St. Clement the Pope figures on the seal of the Black Friars, and St. Mary Magdalene kneels before the Risen Lord in the Garden (of two trees placed between them) on the seal of the Grey Friars.

St. Thomas was the protector and patron of Lesnes Abbey of Austin Canons, in Kent, and his effigy adorns the seal; at each side of the saint is placed a *lucy*, or pike-fish, hauriant palewise, that is, perpendicular (as opposed to naiant, where a fish would appear naturally horizontal, as if it were swimming), in memory of the founder Richard de Lucy. The celebrated Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, co. Sussex, had a very elaborately designed seal, as befitted so ancient an institution, but the date of the seal itself seems to be of the fourteenth century. The diameter is upwards of two inches. On the obverse is seen a Roman Emperor, seated with legs crossed, in a canopied niche. He is crowned, and holds a sword. With the right hand he is taking hold of his beard, perhaps to signify the taking of an oath; courtiers and attendants are waiting on him at each side. Below, under a four-centred arch, is St. Pancras kneeling to receive martyrdom by the executioner's sword. The heraldry of the Warrenne family enters into the design at the sides of the arch. The motto is

'MARTIRIALE · DECUS · TRIBUIT · MICHI · CESARIS · IRA,'

which refers to the martyrdom of St. Pancras at the command of the arch-persecutor of Christians, Diocletian the Emperor, in the fifth century. This legendary line has been interpreted in an inaccurate manner in the 'Sussex Archæological Collections' for 1849, where the

decapitation of Richard Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, in 1397, is pointed to as the suggestion of the design. The reverse shows an elaborately carved chapel on the cliffs, with sea at the base. There are four niches that contain effigies of the Virgin with the Child, St. Pancras as a Cluniac prior and priest, St. Peter, and St. Paul. On the plinth we read:

'MARTIR · PANCRATI · PER · TE · SIMUS · RELEVATI,'

and the legend is a hexameter couplet, referring to the cult of this Saint:

'DULCIS · AGONISTA · TIBI · CONVERTIT · DOMUS · ISTA · PANCRATI · MEMORUM · PRECIBUS · MEMOR · ESTO · TUORUM.'

The Lincoln Gilbertines of St. Catherine's Priory adopted the figure of their patron with her usual emblems. In this city was a leper-house dedicated to the Holy Innocents, and its seal depicts a leper walking, and holding out the right hand for alms. The Grey Friars represent their saint accompanied by a winged seraph or other celestial denizen.

London City was replete with monastic institutions. Austin Friars used the design of the Ascension of our Lord in the presence of four friars. St. Bartholomew's Hospital had an early seal with a figure of the patron; the prior's seal of the twelfth century used the design of the Church, conventional, of course, set on a ship in the sea with inscription: 'NAVIS · ECCLESIE.' One of its counterseals shows an eagle displayed, impressed from an antique oval intaglio gem. The later seal bears St. Bartholomew on a royal throne, with his book and knife, attended with the indispensable crescent and sun-star of ineffable symbolism. The reverse had a beautiful design of the Church in an antique ship on the waves: 'NAVIS ECCLESIE,' and the legend

serves to keep alive the tradition respecting the patron saint:

'CREDIMUS · ANTE · DEUM · PROVEHI · PER · BARTHOLOMEUM.'

The seal of the New Foundation by Queen Mary, 1553-1558, bears the effigy of the saint, with a nimbus, book, and knife, under a domed baldachin, or canopy of the style of the Italian renaissance, supported on two pilasters. In base is a floral scroll. The matrix of this seal, after the wanderings and vicissitudes of three hundred and fifty years, without harm or hurt, has now at length passed into the possession of the churchwardens of the Church of St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, its proper home, where it will be for ever preserved among the other treasures of that ancient building. Black Friars, Holborn, represented our Lord on the Cross between the Virgin 'ECCE MATER TUA,' and St. John Evangelist 'ECCE FILIUS TUUS.' The Charterhouse, or 'House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, of the Order of Carthusians,' had a fourteenth-century seal bearing a scene of the Annunciation, where we might have looked for the Salutation, or meeting of Mary and Elizabeth. The Minoresses of St. Clare without Aldgate used the design of the Coronation of the Virgin. Crutched Friars, in St. Olave's, Tower Hill, on a seal of 1526 shows our Lord on the Cross, surrounded by the eleven faithful disciples, and the sun, moon, and stars attend the tragedy of the death of their Creator.

The Benedictine Nunnery of St. Helen had a fourteenth-century seal, on which was delineated the saint holding the 'True Cross,' and preaching to a group of five women the story of its 'Invention' which is celebrated on the 3rd of May by the Church. The Collegiate Church of St. Martin le Grand had some interesting seals. One of its deans, Thomas de Useflete, used in 1347 a signet of an antique oval gem of the earliest Christian period, engraved in intaglio. The design consists of two half-

length figures of a man and woman, lifting their hands in adoration; between them overhead is a crosslet. Above this impression is the half-length figure of the Virgin with the Child; below it is a bust wearing a diadem or fillet. The setting of precious metal, in which this archaic gem reposes, is ornamented with four small carved circular openings. St. Mary's Hospital without Bishopsgate had fine seals; one of the later ones delineates the Assumption of the Virgin, who is standing on a cherub, and girt with radiance; it is of the fourteenth century. The same event in the life of our Lady appears on the seal of Rouncivalle Hospital, where she stands on a crescent upheld by an angel, and is surrounded with radiance. At the sides are angels in aerial course of flight, issuing from heaven, and overhead is a figure of the Holy Trinity in the sky. St. Thomas the archbishop and martyr is seen on the seals of St. Thomas of Acon's Hospital, and St. Thomas Martyr's Hospital on Old London Bridge. Lastly, St. John Baptist's Hospital of the Savoy used, in 1559, a design of the patron saint, standing on a mount bestrewn with herbage and flowers, for 'the wilderness,' holding his lamb and banner flag, between the two royal badges of Queen Elizabeth, the double rose *en soleil* and the portcullis chained and ringed. Sweetness and strength here unite symbolically, and the double rose, aptly chosen by the Queen's grandsire Henry VII., illustrates the elegant distich which was current in reference to the happy termination of the Civil Wars by the union of the Red and the White Roses of Lancaster and York:

'NOSTRA · NEC · ALBESCIT · RUBICUNDA · NEC · ALBA · RUBESCIT · FACTA · SED · EX · GEMINO · NOSTRA · COLORE · ROSA · EST.'

The column, or shaft, with spiral turns, which occurs so frequently in post-Gothic architecture as seen on seals, had a prototype in the thirteenth-century seal of the Benedictine Priory of St. Mary at Luffield, in co.

Northampton, where the patron is enthroned under a church-like canopy with its supporting columns spirally twisted. The Carmelites of Lynn Regis delineate the Virgin, and St. Margaret, occupied with her customary victory over the dragon on which she is trampling, and whose head she is piercing with a long cross. Maiden-Bradley Austin Friars' Priory, in cos. Wilts and Somerset, affords another excellent instance of twelfth-century architecture, as adopted for the monastic institutions of that era. Malmesbury, a Benedictine abbey of great fame in Wiltshire, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Aldhelm, a seat of learning and literature in the middle ages, where the books of the library were carted away at the dissolution of religious houses by the glovers and leathersellers of Bradford-on-Avon to be scoured down for secular purposes, had a fine fifteenth-century seal, wherein sacred effigies and emblems mingled with the pomp of royal heraldry on the one side, and on the other the mitred abbot stood between niches containing the busts of his two powerful protectors. The Benedictines of Malvern Priory, co. Worcester, had a twelfth-century seal bearing the Virgin and Child on the obverse; the reverse is particularly worthy of notice, as it shows the Archangel Michael, casting down on the apocalyptic 'sea of glass' a crown of three points which he holds before him.

Little-Malvern delineates her patron, St. Giles, with his attendant fawn. Margam Abbey, a Cistercian house in Glamorgan, depicts the Virgin and Child in an elegantly carved niche, with a shield of arms on the tracery at each side, charged with the three chevrons of Clare, the noble benefactor of the abbey. The crescent enclosing a roundle, and the sun-star, also appear on each side. This is a fourteenth-century seal of much beauty. The Gilbertine Priory of St. Margaret at Marlborough, co. Wilts, shows the patron saint victorious over the dragon, as usual. St. Michael the Archangel also is in conflict with the same evil spirit on the seal of the Austin Canons of Maxstoke, co. Warwick, dedicated

to the Trinity, the Virgin, St. Michael, and All Saints. Markyate Benedictine Priory of the Trinity 'de Bosco,' in co. Bedford, shows our Lord enthroned in Judgment, with book and blessing, as the Alpha and Omega of all things. This is a twelfth-century seal. The Chapter seal, of equal antiquity, gives a curious emblematical representation of the Trinity with crescent, sun, and stars.

Merton Austin Canons' Priory of St. Mary, co. Surrey, had a very fine pointed oval seal, made in 1241. It is probably the finest, from the point of view of art, of all the monastic seals of England, not only for design, but for the bold workmanship and high relief of the figures which stand out from the background in a manner equalled by no other seal. The dimensions are about three inches and a quarter by two inches. Here are shown the Virgin enthroned with the Child. The carved work is beautifully delicate; the platform or corbel on which her feet rest is adorned with a compound fleur-de-lis, the Virgin's own flower, symbol of purity and lowliness of heart. The crown consists of three fleurs. The Child is crowned, and has the cruciferous nimbus in prophetic allusion to His Passion. The field or background is diapered lozengy, enriched with roses. Overhead is a church-like canopy, of charming proportions, beyond the dreams of modern Gothicists to imitate or even approach towards imitation. At each side is a vesica-shaped opening, containing a sacred bust. The reverse of this magnificent seal bears an effigy of St. Augustine under a canopy, all the details of which figure and niche are as excellently treated as the work on the obverse. The legend exclaims:

'MUNDI · LUCERNA · NOS · AUGUSTINE · GUBERNA.'

The rim or edge reads a hexameter couplet:

'AUGUSTINE · PATER · QUOS · INSTRUIS · IN · MERITONA ·
HIS · CHRISTI · MATER · TUTRIX · EST · ATQUE · PATRONA.'

Middleton, or Milton, Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, in co. Dorset, delineates with great detail the abbey church sheltering the Virgin and Child, as it were in a shrine, attended by the mitred abbot or a bishop, thurifer angels, and other holy adjuncts and symbols. The reverse introduces to our view the abbey from another point of sight, under the arches of which is the scene of the Annunciation, and in the triangular pediment overhead is seen a bust. The legend, which sets forth in a rhyming elegiac distich, cunningly woven with words of nearly similar sound, the cardinal tenets of Christian faith, is a crowning masterpiece of the mediæval epigrammatist's skill in versification :

'PORTA · SALUTIS · AVE · PER · TE · PATET · EXITUS · A · VE · VENIT · AB · EVA · VE · VE · QUIA · TOLLIS · AVE.'

It is remarkable that these verses are also inscribed on the seal of Arbroath Abbey in Scotland, as will be pointed out in a subsequent part of this work. Minster Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary and St. Sexburga, in Kent, gives a figure of the Anglo-Saxon St. Sexburga carrying a sceptre and a book, which indicate her royal lineage and her religious life. This seal is of the twelfth century.

The Austin Canons of Mottesfont Priory of Holy Trinity, in co. Southampton, placed on their thirteenth-century seal an unusual representation of the Trinity. The Almighty Father, enthroned, is holding the Saviour half-length in a cloth, His feet on a platform ; above them is the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending. The sun, the moon, and groups of annulets in triplets, complete the tableau. The Carthusians of Mount Grace, in co. York, depict the Assumption of the Virgin, to which their house was dedicated, in a vesica held up by four angels, each in a pent-house. Neath, a Cistercian abbey in Glamorgan, had some interesting seals. Newburgh Abbey of Austin Canons, co. York, had a twelfth-century counterseal of an antique oval intaglio gem, engraved with the figure of a

deity, seated on a stool between an angel and a standing figure with shield and stag. Another gem counterseal of equal antiquity and similar technique shows two deities seated facing one another on a chair-like throne. Before each is a priestess performing a sacrifice. This is the secret seal of the Chapter. Newcastle-on-Tyne, in Northumberland, also had many fine seals where St. Bartholomew, the Virgin Mary, St. Thomas the Archbishop, and St. Mary Magdalene, are severally depicted for the religious foundations over which they presided. In the last instance, for the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, our Lord is raising up the saint in a Gothic panel, the field of which contains a few slipped leaves symbolical of 'the Garden,' a part for the whole, as in numerous other instances, here testifying to the excellent spirit of the draughtsman who conceived the design.

The Austin Priory of St. Paul, at Newenham, co. Bedford, had a thirteenth-century seal of much interest. The diameter is three inches. One side shows the patron, with sword and book, enthroned under a canopy, over which are two angels, and at the sides is a company of votaries. Nor are the crescent moon and star absent from the design. The reverse represents the city of Rome: 'ROMA,' by the aid of a Gothic monastic edifice, and in the central niche is the martyrdom of the saint, who is kneeling while he is decapitated by an executioner. Above the saint's head is his name, and in the side niches are standing figures, the one entitled 'Lucas,' the other 'Titus.' The rhyming legend here is

'MUCRO · FUROR · SAULI · FUIT · ENSIS · PASSIO · PAULI.'

It must be contrasted with the motto on the Chapter seal of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, which reads:

'MUCRO · FUROR · SAULI · LIBER · EST · CONVERSIO · PAULI.'

The similarity of these two legends indicates a literary

intercourse between the houses, or that they employed the same poet. Newhouse, a Premonstratensian abbey in co. Lincoln, dedicated to the tutelary care of St. Martial, the wonder-working Bishop of Limoges, one of the first rank of illustrious churchmen in the time of miracles and missions, naturally places his effigy on its seals. The British Museum possesses a large collection of charters of this abbey. Nocton Priory of Austin Canons of St. Mary Magdalene, in co. Lincoln, shows the patron, crowned, in a garden, with the prior kneeling before her. St. James, patron of pilgrims, appears on the Austin Canons' seal for their abbey at Northampton.

Norwich was rich in fine monastic seals; among others, the Friars-Preachers of St. John Baptist depict the Baptism of our Lord by the saint, with the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending on the Lord's head, between the sun and the moon. This is of the thirteenth century; a later seal of the same house shows St. Dominic performing a miracle. The 'Brethren of Penance' figure St. Edmund, king and martyr, bound to a tree and pierced by arrows. St. Giles's Hospital gives the patron seated on a chair with a fawn, that has been wounded by an arrow, leaping up to him. The Austin Canons' abbey at Oseney, co. Oxford, on its second seal, of the thirteenth century, places the Virgin and Child, and in base an *ox* passant guardant, in allusion to the adjacent city of Oxford. Ossulston Abbey, in co. Leicester, of the same order as the previous house, dedicated to our Saviour, St. Mary, and St. Andrew, depicts the crucifixion of St. Andrew on a saltire cross by two executioners, accompanied with a sun-star and a crescent, enclosing a beam of light as a divine manifestation, the usual manner of representing this in mediæval art; above is the divine hand of blessing, issuing from the clouds. St. Frideswida appears on the seal of the Benedictine Priory of that patron, now Christ Church, Oxford; and King Henry III. in an armorial tabard is seen on the seal of the Oxford Carmelites. The Austin Canons' Priory of

Pentney, sacred to the Trinity, St. Mary the Virgin, and St. Mary Magdalene, gives on its thirteenth-century seal a figure of our Lord after the Resurrection, addressing the patron saint in the Garden with the inscribed words 'NOLI · ME · TANGERE,' as she kneels in adoration before the Risen Saviour. The garden is here indicated by a single tree between the two figures, and the presence of the sun and moon is not without significance. Pershore, once an influential abbey of the Benedictines, in co. Worcester, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Eadburga, had a fine twelfth-century seal, on which were placed the Virgin enthroned with the Child, who is blessing with His right hand upraised. In her left hand she holds the fleury sceptre of celestial empire, and at her sides are the crescent moon and sun-star, with St. Paul and St. Peter, each accompanied with the proper emblems. Below, under an arch, is the figure of St. Eadburga with book and chalice. The counterseal gives St. Eadburga worshipping the Virgin and Child. Peterborough Abbey, a Benedictine house, the buildings whereof were of great beauty as is clearly marked by the present cathedral, formerly the abbey church, had a very interesting seal showing a conventional interior view of the church, with the patron St. Peter nimbed, holding his keys and a book, while from the left-hand corner in the upper part a hand of divine blessing is issuing, and the unseen Lord utters the rhyming verse:

'TU · PRO · ME · NAVEM · LIQUISTI · SUSCIPE · CLAVEM.'

The counterseal gives us figures of three saints in a boat: Paul with a sword, Oswald with a long cross, and Peter with a key. Each is under a canopy. The legend tells the tale:

'SIGNUM · BURGENSE · CRUCE · CLAVE · REFULGET · ET · ENSE.'

Another, later by a hundred years, varies all these details

in some degree. Peter has the tiara, an animal beneath his feet; close by is a king's head, an altar with a chalice is introduced, and the armorial bearings of the abbey are not wanting. The boat contains St. Andrew with his saltire in place of Oswald in the earlier seal. These three later saints are also placed on the seal of Abbot Borowe, one of the latest of the English Benedictine abbots. Pilton Priory, a Benedictine house of St. Mary, in co. Devon, finds a place for the effigy of its founder, King Æthelstan, on the reverse of its seal. Trinity Collegiate Church, at Pleshey, in Essex, delineates God the Father blessing a body of praying priests, accompanied with saints in niches, the emblems of the Evangelists, heraldic shields, and badges referring to the founders, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, and his Duchess, Alianora de Bohun, whose effigies are also introduced kneeling in prayer. Another seal shows the founders holding the model of their house, with heraldry, and a pretty invocation:

'SPES · NOSTRA · SALUS · NOSTRA · HONOR · NOSTER · O · BEATA · TRINITAS.'

Plympton Priory, co. Devon, an Austin Canons' house, represented St. Peter and St. Paul on their thirteenth-century seals, with the Virgin and Child. Poughley Priory, co. Berks, of the same order as the preceding, dedicated to St. Margaret, varies the emblems of the patron saint, who, while standing on the dragon, holds a flagellum of three thongs and a book. The Cluniacs of Prittlewell, in Essex, chose for their thirteenth-century seal the subject of the Annunciation;—on that of the fifteenth century, the Assumption of the Virgin. We have therefore seen throughout this series of monastic seals how the patron saint very generally supplies the subject for delineation on the seals. Reading Mitred Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary, St. John, and St. James, on the seal of 1328 places each of these patrons in evidence;

the reverse bears an effigy of King Henry I. between St. Peter and St. Paul, with two laudatory hexameter verses of much ingenuity but obscure meaning. Repton, or Repingdon, Priory of the Holy Trinity and St. Mary, co. Derby, had a representation of God the Father on the thirteenth-century seal: Alured, a prior about 1200, had an antique gem ring seal, of which he has left an impression on one of the documents connected with the monastery. The Cistercian Abbey of Revesby, co. Lincoln, dedicated to St. Mary and St. Lawrence, introduced these saints into the seal, St. Lawrence being accompanied by the gridiron, his usual emblem.

Richmond Grey Friars, co. York, depict the head of the order, St. Francis, in a 'wilderness' of two trees with birds on them. St. Wilfrid's Abbey at Ripon, in the same county, shows the Agnus Dei with banner cross on an altar; another seal connected with this institution has our Lord on the cross in the branches of a tree accompanied by St. Wilfrid and other adjuncts. Robertsbridge, Cistercian house in co. Sussex, dedicated to St. Mary, depicts a conventional view of the church standing on water, with the letters P. R. for Pons Roberti, Robert's Bridge. The legend declares:

'HEC · PRESENS · CELLA · DOMUS · EST · DE · MATRE · PUELLA.'

The reverse of this fine thirteenth-century seal contains a scene of the Coronation of the Virgin. Rolleston, in co. Wilts, shows a seal of the sixteenth century for the churchwardens, with three canopied niches containing figures of St. Andrew, St. Richard, and St. Frideswide, adored by Robert Sherborne, the illustrious Bishop of Chichester, 1508-1536. St. Albans Abbey, co. Hertford, had a twelfth-century seal of much beauty, bearing the effigy of the protomartyr and patron. The matrix appears, from later impressions, to have been retouched in several places. Here the martyrdom of the first of the English martyrs was the leading motive on the seals, and

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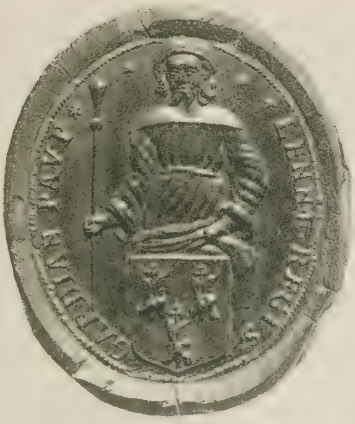

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MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

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MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

the legend, that the eyes of the headsman fell out of their sockets when he decapitated the saint, is recorded by the inscription on some of the seals:

'MARTIR · OBIT · VICTOR · PRIVATUR · LUMINE · LICTOR.'

We do not know whether this episode was reproduced during the St. Albans pageant of 1907 or not. Abbot Thomas de la Mare, 1350-1396, places on his seal the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury; the head of St. Alban with a sword across the neck; and a bust which has been conjectured to be that of St. Amphibalus the instructor of the martyr. Sandwell Benedictine Priory of St. Mary Magdalene, co. Stafford, had a late twelfth-century seal bearing an effigy of our Lord with an open book. Selby Abbey, a Benedictine house dedicated to St. Mary and St. Germanus, the church of which fell a victim to a disastrous fire recently, had an eleventh-century seal with the effigy of St. Germanus thereon, and the counterseal is an impression of a gem, bearing the inscribed portrait of the Emperor Honorius, 395-423, wearing the imperial diadem. Here it is employed as the head of Christ, with the legend:

'CAPUD · NOSTRUM · CHRISTUS · EST.'

A similar motto attached to a classic bust was used by the Abbot of Langley. Sele Priory, in Sussex, had an eleventh-century view of the church. Sempringham Priory, co. Lincoln, gives in 1261 a counterseal for one of the Gilbertine Masters, which is the impression of an ancient gem, engraved with the radiant bust of Sol Oriens, the Rising Sun, also here used, by transference of imagery, for the Sun of Righteousness. The Carthusians of Sheen, co. Surrey, sacred to Jesus of Bethlehem, depict the Nativity of our Lord, with heraldry. Sherborne, co. Dorset, had a very archaic seal with a represen-

tation of the Benedictine Abbey Church. St. Benedict is found in effigy on the abbot's seal of 1163. Syon in Isleworth, an Austin abbey, figures on the fifteenth-century seal the Virgin and Child, our Lord supporting St. Brigit, Queen of Sweden, and the royal arms of the founder, King Henry v. Other seals of this house include one with the religious arms of our Lord, apparently of foreign conception. The Resurrection of Jesus Christ appears on the seal of the General Confessor. St. Denis is shown on the seals of Southampton Priory. Southwick St. Mary, an Austin Canons' priory in co. Southampton, used a remarkably fine seal in the thirteenth century. The obverse had a view of the church with very elaborate architectural details, including openings in the waxen layers of the seal for windows, showing heads impressed on the back of the reverse which consisted of a second layer of wax, as is also found in the seals of Bongrave Priory and Bury St. Edmund's Abbey. The reverse shows the church from another point of view, with the scene of the Annunciation of the Virgin impressed on the back of the obverse showing through the two arches of the doorway. The legend is as follows:

'SIT · PRO · SUWIKA · MEDIATRIX · VIRGO · PUDICA ·
ET · PAX · ANGELICA · SIT · NOBIS · SEMPER · AMICA.'

Stykeswold Cistercian Priory of St. Mary, co. Lincoln, had a late seal bearing the figure of the Trinity after a mediæval interpretation. Tamworth Collegiate Church gives St. Catherine with her emblems on a late seal. Tavistock, in co. Devon, a Benedictine abbey of St. Mary and St. Rumon, had a very early matrix with carved and ornamented handle which has been impressed on the wax as well as the design on the face of the seal. Some other monastic seals, as for example those of Wilton, Chertsey, and Hastings, may be compared for this characteristic. The carving here shows a saint, half-

length, reading a book. The Prior of Thornholm, co. Lincoln, in 1297, had a gem ring with antique engraving of Nike, or Victory. The Abbot of Thornton, in the same county, had a similar ring, on which was a helmeted figure with a shield. Wallingford Priory, co. Berks, gives an eleventh-century figure of our Lord in Judgment.

The seal of Waltham Abbey, an Austin Canons' house dedicated to the Holy Cross, bears on the one side the celebrated 'Cross of Waltham' supported by angels, on the other side two shields of arms and the impressions of three fine antique intaglio gems, the first of large dimensions engraved with two busts of Byzantine style, facing towards each other, and attributed by the legend to be Tovi and Harold, the Saxon founders; the second a deity and a dolphin, the third a tiger. The legend declares:

'HOC · CARTE · FEDUS · CUM · TOVI · FIRMAT · HAROLDUS.'

Tovi was a co-founder and benefactor. The matrix and the large gem were cracked before 1537, when an impression on a charter in the British Museum indicates the presence of this injury. The Cluniac Priory of St. Milburga, at Wenlock, co. Salop, shows an effigy of this patron. The seals of Westminster Abbey begin in the eleventh century, and are worthy of the history of the edifice. They comprise effigies of St. Peter, St. Edward the Confessor, St. Paul, St. Catherine, St. John Baptist, and others, with appropriate heraldry and many sacred details. Wilton Abbey, co. Wilts, bears on its tenth-century seal the figure of St. Eadgitha or Edith, daughter of King Edgar. The Carthusians of Witham adopted the device of our Lord on the Cross between the two Maries. Worcester Monastery depicts St. Wolstan, bishop and founder. The seals of York City, the last of our monastic series, were very numerous. Their art is second to none, and the designs they exhibit are suited to the several monasteries and religious houses which possessed

them. St. Thomas of Canterbury had a special *cultus* here, at an hospital outside the Micklegate, and its seal shows him lifting up his hand in the act of giving a blessing.

Closely connected with monastic seals are the seals of Peculiar Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions. The designs vary; none are very old, and none are of particularly good style or workmanship. Perhaps one of the best is that of the Rector of Cliff-at-Hoe, in Kent, which bears a figure of St. Helena with sceptre and 'True Cross.' It is of the date of the sixteenth century. Religious Orders also belong in some measure to this class of seals. The Cistercians delineated, among other devices, a conventual church: the Dominicans, the appearance of our Lord, after His Resurrection, to St. Mary Magdalene in the Garden; and the Virgin and Child. The Franciscans, the Martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, some scenes of which tragedy are enhanced by the introduction of the head of the Almighty Father looking down on the act. The Carmelites adopted the representation of the Coronation of the Virgin; and the Austin Friars depicted St. Augustine and the Father blessing him.

Of Guilds, Chantries, Fraternities, which also appear in some degree to be cognate to monasteries by reason of their religious character, there are many seals, but none are of a very exalted artistic merit. The figures of the Virgin and Child, saints, angels, the combat of St. George and the dragon, and other similar designs appear to be chiefly adopted. One seal, perhaps, deserves special mention. It is that of the Fraternity of the Blessed Wenefreda, Virgin, in the Church of St. Cross within the Abbey of St. Peter at Shrewsbury. It delineates the scene of the decollation of the patron saint by Caradoc, son of Alain, a prince of North Wales, with accompanying heraldry of the fifteenth century. The Crucifixion scene, with the Virgin and St. John Baptist, is found on the seal of the Guild of St. Cross at Stratford-on-Avon, in co. Warwick. St. Cuthberga's figure is placed on the chantry seal at Wimborne, co. Dorset. St. Christopher's Guild in York

had a fifteenth-century seal on which was given the figure of St. Christopher, passing over a ford and bearing on his shoulders, in accordance with the ancient tradition, the Infant Christ. Military Orders naturally follow Religious Orders. The Knights Templars bore the Agnus Dei as a 'Seal of the Temple.' The Knights Hospitallers had the Holy Sepulchre, and its master and members adoring the Patriarchal Cross. The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem at Clerkenwell, near the City of London, also placed a figure of the prior adoring the Patriarchal Cross on its seals, with the invocation :

'SALVE · CRUX · SANCTA · ARBOR · DIGNA,'

and a fine design of the head of St. John Baptist formed the subject of many impressions of seals belonging to this order. The Military Order of the Garter bears a fine tableau of the combat of St. George and the dragon, on King Henry VIII.'s seal of the Order. Elizabeth and James I. delineated heraldry. Charles I. and succeeding monarchs reverted to the type of St. George and the dragon ; and royal heraldry, with the Garter bearing the world-famed motto :

'HONI · SOIT · QUI · MAL · Y · PENSE,'

is a feature of the seals of this most noble institution.

CHAPTER VI

LOCAL SEALS OF CITIES, TOWNS, CORPORATIONS, BOROUGHS, HONOURS, HUNDREDS, LIBERTIES, UNIVERSITIES, SCHOOLS, ETC.

ANOTHER large class of English seals appertains to localities and places. The designs here are by no means conventional. They are derived from and refer to important facts in the history of the places to which they belong. Many of them are purely and simply heraldic, and bear shields of arms, often accompanied by supporters and emblems of local significance. Others bear emblems alone without a shield or other armorial indication. Others, again, delineate the patron saint, allusions to royal arms, objects forming rebuses on the name of the place, many of which are derived from false etymology, and are merely phonetic in their adaptation, effigies of founders or benefactors, *tableaux* of scenes of interest in the history of the district or town, interiors of schools and public buildings, castles, bridges, towns with buildings in perspective, shipping, and numerous other devices.

Taking some of the more important and remarkable designs found on this class of seals in order of alphabet, for better convenience of the collector, the bailiff of the honour of Albemarle for the lands of the earldom in the counties of York and Lincoln used, in 1412, an effigy of the officer standing and holding a staff and a shield of the arms of the honour. Aldeburgh, once an important seaport, now comparatively neglected, in Suffolk, had an oval seal bearing a three-masted ship of war with sail set, riding on the sea. Alnwick, in North-

umberland, had a fourteenth-century seal on which was an effigy of Michael the Archangel with open wings, a long cross with which he is piercing the head of the vanquished dragon, and a shield of the arms attributed to him by the heralds, viz. an ornamental cross. The liberty of Alverstoke, co. Southampton, had a 'Common Seal of the Men of St. Swithun's Priory of Alwarestoke,' in the thirteenth century, on which is shown the figure of the patron saint and bishop of Winchester, the wonder-working Swithun, with mitre, pastoral staff, and book, seated on a carved throne: the background filled with pierced roses and cinquefoils. The borough of Appleby, in Westmorland, supplies an instance of the rebus: an elaborately and symmetrically designed *apple*-tree of seven fruitful branches, bearing a shield of the royal arms of King Henry III. for his local Court of Exchequer. This is of the thirteenth century. The reverse depicts the martyrdom of St. Laurence, with an angel half-length carrying up to heaven the victorious liberated soul of the saint in a cloth, after the usual manner adopted for symbolising the 'deposition' of a saint by the artists of the middle ages. Over the head of one of the two executioners is an *apple*. Arundel, co. Sussex, gives us another example of the rebus. The burgesses here had a swallow, or *hirondelle*, on a fleur-de-lis slipped upon a special stem. Ashborne Grammar School, co. Derby, gives the similitude of Queen Elizabeth enthroned in majesty, attended by a kneeling group of founders, and in base the interior of the school occupied by the masters and pupils. Ashburton, in co. Devon, with a provost or portreeve and corporation, used, in the fourteenth century, the figure of a churchlike building, perhaps the town hall, with an *ash*-tree on the left side, and a sun-star and crescent. In the Borough seal, an imitation of the older one, the tree inclines to the resemblance of a corn-stalk with three wheat ears.

'The Inhabitants of the Town of Askrigg,' co. York, had a late seal charged with a Calvary cross on three steps.

Atherstone, in Warwickshire, gives a good example of the canting rebus in its Grammar School seal of 1608: viz. a *stone* slab with seven *adders* about it. Axbridge, in Somersetshire, favoured the Agnus Dei. Barnard Castle, co. Durham, a cross pattée between a crescent and a star. Barnstaple, co. Devon, had the design of an eagle for its Borough seal in the thirteenth century; an embattled castle, triple-towered, for its early mayors; and a more elaborate castle on a mount for its 'Armorial Seal for the Mayor and Corporation of the Town of Barum.' Its Bridge seal shows a six-arched bridge over the River Taw, above the bridge an eagle displayed between a chapel and a Calvary cross. This is called 'SIGILLUM · LONGI · PONTIS · VILLE,' etc. Basingstoke, co. Southampton, depicts the conventional combat of St. Michael with the dragon. Bath, co. Somerset, has on the thirteenth-century seal of the citizens of the city, 'SIGILLUM · CIVIUM · URBIS · BATHONIE,' an embattled enclosure containing a small building, perhaps indicating the site of the world-famous hot springs which have welled up from unfathomable depths from prehistoric times until the present day. Queen Elizabeth's Charter for the Incorporation of Beccles Fen, in Suffolk, 1584, gives rise to the seal bearing a wattled park of enclosed fen, whereon are an ass, a horse, and an ox. Bedford's corporation and mayor have a castle. Berwick-on-Tweed, some seals of which town will be described in the chapter which deals with the Local Seals of Scotland, had a Mayoralty seal, bearing on a mount a *bear* passant beneath a *wych*-elm or hazel-tree, by way of rebus, accompanied with royal heraldic devices and a figure of our Lord in His post-resurrection, or mystical, state, with cross-topped orb and giving a blessing. Beverley, co. York, in its thirteenth-century seal for the corporation, figures the patron, Saint John of Beverley, Archbishop of York.

Bideford corporation, in co. Devon, gives a four-arched bridge over the River Torridge, on which are two chapels, and in the centre, on a cross pattée upon a tall shaft, the

LOCAL SEALS

Virgin patron with the Child. The field is filled with flowers and foliage. The Common seal of 1577 shows a less elaborate bridge, with a ship passing through. The seal for labourers' passes for Bindon liberty, in Dorsetshire, had the customary design of the name of the liberty across its face, and of the county around the border. Birmingham Free Grammar School had on its first seal, 1552, five persons seated at a table; on its later seal, of 1685, the figure of King Edward VI. in majesty attended by two kneeling suppliants on each side.

Bishop's Castle, co. Salop, has the figure of a castle, with interesting details and the initial letters I. R. for 'Jacobus Rex,' who confirmed, in 1609, Queen Elizabeth's Charter to the town. Bodmin borough, co. Cornwall, had a fourteenth-century Common seal for the burgesses, bearing an effigy of its royal benefactor, seated under a canopy resembling a triple-towered castle. Its later seal is evidently inspired as to its design by the device of the older example. Bossiney with Trevenna, a borough in the parish of Tintagel, in Cornwall, delineates the castle of the legendary King Arthur, triple-towered, domed and embattled, with a stairway leading from the principal portal to the sea. This appears to be of the sixteenth century. Boston, co. Lincoln, had a seal for its maritime affairs bearing a three-masted ship on the sea, its sail set and charged with armorial bearings. Its woolstaple seal bears an effigy of the patron St. Botulph, with staff and book, and a woolsack before him. Brentwood Grammar School, Co. Essex, favours heraldry, and has on the obverse of its seal, 1557, a shield of arms bearing the heraldic device used for the Trinity. Bridgnorth, co. Salop, has for its Common seal a design of a triple-towered castle. Bridgwater, co. Somerset, in like manner, gives an elaborately detailed castle on a bridge of four round-headed arches over the River Parret. The early seal appears to belong to the twelfth century; the later one, which has been influenced in its design by the former, has five pointed arches in its bridge, and a star

and fleur-de-lis in the field; this belongs to the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses, and is of the style of the fifteenth century. Bridport, in Dorsetshire, uses the design of an embattled castle on the River Bride, accompanied with the fleur-de-lis badge for France, and lion passant guardant of England. Bristol city has many notable seals. The first Common seal, which is of the character of the fourteenth century, gives on the one side a view of the castle, with much detail; on one of the towers a watchman blowing a long trumpet, on the other side a ship with sail set heading towards a round-headed archway at the corner of an embattled building, whereon is seen a watchman pointing the way to the steersman. In the foreground on the beach is a conger eel, not without significance as denoting one of the commodities of the locality. The legend of this seal describes the *mise en scène*, and embodies a play upon the word *clavis*, a 'key' or a 'quay':

'SECRETI · CLAVIS · SUM · PORTUS · NAVITA · NAVIS · PORTAM · CUSTODIT · PORTUM · VIGIL · INDICE · PRODIT.'

The second Common seal, of 1569, is heraldic. The two Mayoralty seals of the fourteenth century show the 'secret quay' open, with a ship sailing out. The Admiralty seal, perhaps of the seventeenth century, has a ship of one mast, riding on the waves, and accompanied by armorial devices. The mayor of the staple used the device of a leopard's face within a cordon of fleurs-de-lis. These charges appertain to the King's use. Bruton, co. Somerset, for its Grammar School had a rebus only partly conceived. The legend reads:

'THE · SEALLE · OF · THE · SKOLLE · OF · BREW,'

and a *tun* with grapes and vine-branches springing out, to complete the idea. Bury St. Edmunds Free Grammar School depicts our Lord with nimbus, before His dis-

ciples, blessing a child whose head alone appears. Below the tableau is an entablature bearing the words:

'SINITE · PARVULOS · VENIRE · AD · ME'

(Mark x. 14). The Royal Exchequer of Caerleon, or Holt, co. Denbigh, used a seal, in 1520, bearing a lion and open crown; and a second seal, in 1546, of somewhat more detailed execution. The mayoralty used the design of a triple-towered castle on a field powdered with fleurs-de-lis. The corporation of the city of Cambridge had on its fourteenth-century seal a *bridge* over the river called the *Cam*, accompanied with royal heraldry. Other seals here are purely armorial.

The University with the Colleges it comprehends has many seals. There are at least three seals of the University itself, used in 1261, 1410, and the last of the three made in 1580. With varying styles of art and of different degrees of merit, the leading motive is a figure of the Chancellor with the Scholars, with the bridge over the river below, in which are fishes swimming. The latest seal supersedes the bridge and river, with a shield of the Arms of the University, and pedantically introduces the name of the Almighty Father in the three divine Biblical languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, accompanied with heraldry. Other seals of the Chancellor figure that dignitary in appropriate vestments. Of the Colleges, Michael House, 1324, delineates St. Michael trampling on the dragon and piercing his head with a cross, symbolical of the triumph of Christianity over sin. King's Hall shows the royal founder, Edward III., holding the model of his foundation. Clare Hall, now Clare College, had a very much detailed first seal showing the effigy of the Lady Elizabeth de Burgo, sister and co-heir of Gilbert, Earl of Clare, the founder, holding the book of the Statutes, and presenting the foundation charter to a group of the members. Overhead are the Virgin and Child, between St. John Baptist

with the Agnus Dei, and St. John Evangelist with eagle and palm-branch. On the tabernacle-work at the sides of the carved Gothic niche which enclose the above groups, are shields of royal, collegiate, and family heraldry. The legend invokes the Virgin in these terms:

'AULA · CLARE · PIA · REGE · SEMPER · VIRGO · MARIA.'

The second seal, of very late work, is a badly proportioned copy of the above described very beautiful design. Pembroke, or Valence Mary, Hall, now Pembroke College, 1347, shows in similar fashion the figures of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and his Countess the Lady Mary de St. Paul, each holding up the model of the building they had founded, on the roof of which sits the Lord in the act of blessing, and wearing the crucifer nimbus. Gonville Hall, 1348, afterwards Gonville and Caius College, 1558, bears a representation of the Annunciation of the Virgin and a figure of Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, 1344-1354, who established the College. Trinity Hall, 1350, depicts the Holy Trinity accompanied by ten heads representing the host of heaven, a very unusual subject on seals; in base the shield of Bishop Bateman's arms also borne by this Hall. Corpus Christi College, 1352, used the tableau of the Coronation of the Virgin with the fanciful but well-known armorial bearings attributed by heralds to the Holy Trinity and to Jesus Christ (the symbols or implements of the Passion). In the base are two figures holding up the model: these represent the Guilds which founded the College. God's House, 1442, delineates, in two scenes, the Nativity and the Ascension of our Lord.

King's College, 1441, had an elaborate seal of the Assumption of the Virgin, with St. Nicholas, and King Henry VI. with concomitant armorial bearings. The arms on the first state of this seal gave way to others in the second state. Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard, 1448, places on its seal standing figures

of the patrons: the former trampling, as usual, on the dragon, whose head she pierces with a long cross, the latter with book and staff; at each side a kneeling angel in a pent-house: in base, the President and Fellows, with armorial bearings. St. Catherine's Hall, 1473, has on its seal a figure of the patroness on a bracket in a canopied niche, crowned, and holding the symbols of her martyrdom, a sword and a wheel. Jesus College, 1496, used the seal of the Benedictine Priory of St. Radegund, from which it sprang; an archaic figure of St. Radegund with staff, wallet, and book. This appears to be of twelfth-century work. The seal of 1496 bears our Lord between the Virgin and St. John Evangelist. Under an arch in base is an angel holding a shield, charged with the five wounds of our Lord, viz. a human heart between two couped hands and as many feet in saltire, *gouttées de sang*, another heraldic design bestowed by the heralds on our Lord. The seal *ad causas* of 1586 has heraldry, and an incorrect Hebrew inscription. St. John's College, 1511, shows the patron writing his Gospel on a desk, and in the field a nimbed eagle, a quatrefoil slipped, a portcullis, an heraldic antelope, and a marguerite flower, all symbolical and pregnant with meanings. Trinity College, 1546, delineates the Baptism of our Lord with a descending dove and scroll carelessly inscribed 'HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DELECTUS,' etc. On the reverse is the effigy of King Henry VIII., with adjuncts of majesty, in a niche of debased style of architecture. The motto is 'SERVIRE · DEO · REGNARE · EST,' and there is a note of the date.

The town of Camelford, in Cornwall, affects the rebus of a *camel* passing a *ford*, forgetful of the true derivation of its name from its river. Canterbury is rich in seals: the first seal of the corporation, 1318, bears an elaborate castle, with heraldry, and on the reverse a section of the cathedral showing the scene of Becket's Martyrdom. This is accompanied with the rhyming legend in two lines of hexameter verse:

'ICTIBUS · INMENSIS · THOMAS · QUI · CORRUIT · ENSIS ·
TUTOR · AB · OFFENSIS · URBIS · SIT · CANTURIENSIS,'

and the date of its making is also signified by other two rhyming verses on the rim. At a later date the martyrdom was removed, to give place for a shield of the city arms, and the legend was covered up, or cut away, to give way to a coarsely carved border. The Mayor's seal was a triple-towered castle with three lions of England, in a trefoil. Cardiff Royal Chancery seal is of great interest. It represents King Henry VII., as Lord of Glamorgan and Morgan, riding on a caparisoned and plumed horse on a rocky mount replenished with herbage. The king is in armour, and the armorial bearings are of the royal use, viz. France Modern and England, quarterly. The background is filled with sprigs of foliage and blossoms. The whole design compares well with the obverses of the Great Seals of the kings as used from Edward IV. to Henry VII. The reverse of this fine seal bears the royal arms of the realm, between sprigs of foliage, encircled with the Garter inscribed, and bearing the royal crest on a helmet with mantling. An early Common seal of the corporation, about one and a half inches in diameter, shows on a pyramidal mount of stones two lions rampant combatant holding up a shield of the town's arms: three chevrons, for Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the quondam chief lord of the town.

Chester county had on the seal in 1377 the armorial bearings of Richard, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester, afterwards King Richard II., to denote his Exchequer of Chester. The County Palatine seals show, like Cardiff, representations of the king in armour, on a caparisoned horse with heraldry, on the one side, and armorial bearings on the other. Seals of varied types, used by Edward IV., Henry VII. and VIII., and Edward VI. are preserved in the British Museum, and the elegance of their designs is very noteworthy. The 'County Palatine of Chester and Flint' also delineates on the official seals

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TOWN OF COLCHESTER

the effigies of the sovereigns riding on the warhorse, with royal armorial bearings, among which is introduced the shield bearing three garbs for Chester impaled with France and England quarterly. It is to be noticed that even in Queen Elizabeth's seal here the quartering of England is differenced with the label of three points for the Prince of Wales. The supporters of the Palatine are two dragons sejant addorsed, each holding an ostrich feather. Those of Queen Elizabeth are labelled *Ich Dien*.

The Commonwealth, jealous of personal representations, replaced the equestrian figures with an elaborately detailed view of Chester Castle with an ornamental shield of arms on each of the side round-towers, viz. the Commonwealth Arms for England on the dexter, and Ireland on the sinister side. Overhead are clouds, and in base, water. The reverse of this seal, made in 1648, shows the interior of the Parliament House during session. The mayor and citizens of Chester city depict a castle of six towers, accompanied by the lion of England between two garbs of Chester. The first seal of Chichester corporation bears an eagle, the later seal an ornamental castle with heraldry. Colchester, co. Essex, bears on the reverse of its first Corporation seal an effigy of St. Helena the Empress, reputed to be a native of this town, enthroned and holding her emblem, a long cross, in memory of her sacred quest of the True Cross, under a canopy, with the legend:

'QUAM · CRUX · INSIGNIT · HELENAM · COLECESTRIA · GIGNIT.'

This is of the thirteenth century. Later town seals perpetuate the figure of this saint with royal and local heraldry. The town of Congleton, in Cheshire, affords a rebus on its seal, a *tun* or barrel between two *conger* eels, ensigned with a lion of England. The derivation of the name is, however, quite different. Corbridge, in Northumberland, had a twelfth-century seal, bearing an ornamental cross between four human heads erased.

Corfe Castle, co. Dorset, has a castle with a *corve*, or *corbeau*, by way of rebus. The Stannaries Corporation of 'Stannators' of Cornwall had an interesting tableau of two miners working on a platform. Their tools are remarkable in shape and illustrate the survival of the past in the present. Sir Walter Ralegh, Warden of the Stannaries about 1600, had an equestrian seal of office, with heraldry. The Duchy of Cornwall seals used royal armorials with proper differences, one of which is a bordure bezantée for Cornwall. Coventry mayoralty bears on its seal an elephant. Crediton, in co. Devon, a figure of the Almighty Father on its Grammar School seal.

Dartmouth, in co. Devon, figures ships, as befits an important maritime town. Daventry, in co. Northampton, figures a *Dane* with an axe and a *tree*, a silly rebus originating from the corrupt manner of pronouncing the name of the town. Deal bears the armorials of the Cinque ports. The Trinity-House at Deptford, in co. Kent, bears its shield of arms on its seal of 1513. Derby town has another rebus, a *deer* in a *by* or park. The Devonshire Stannaries used the armorials of the county of Cornwall, viz. fifteen bezants in pile, five, four, three, two, and one. Dorchester, co. Dorset, had many seals bearing the royal arms of the sovereigns, with a bust of Edward II. on the first Corporation seal. Dover bears, on its seal of 1305, a warship with many valuable details for the history of naval armaments and seamanship; on the reverse is an effigy of St. Martin, seated on a horse and dividing his mantle with a beggar, after the accepted tradition, under the portal doorway of an embattled triple-towered castle. In place of a legend there is a cordon of twelve lions passant guardant of England, arranged in six pairs counter-passant. Other seals of this port bear also the figure of the saint, with or without heraldry. The seal of 1572 for the mayoralty gives the beggar a wooden leg, that of 1749 gives him a crutch. The Great Seal of the castle and courts of the Cinque ports, of the eighteenth century, shows Dover Castle on a rock, flying

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MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

a flag on which is a cross and saltire united; the foreground shows the town, and a ship of war, three-masted, is under sail to the right. Dunwich corporation, in Suffolk, had a lozenge-shaped seal, showing its quondam maritime importance by a ship drawn with curious twelfth-century detail and accompanied by the sun-star and crescent. The bailiffs had also a lozenge-shaped seal; this bears a royal head, full face, crowned, in a boat riding on the sea, between two stars. There were two matrices of this seal, almost exactly similar.

The Common seal of the city of Durham represented a bishop, with heraldry. The Royal College of St. Mary at Eton, 1440, had a fine seal bearing a scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, attended by three angels on each side; the Almighty Father overhead is crowning her, and other angels hold royal arms for the founder, King Henry VI., and the College armorials. The second seal represents the Assumption of the Virgin, who is surrounded by angels in radiant clouds, and below is a shield of the royal arms supported by two lions sejant guardant. Evesham borough bears its arms on the one side, on the other a curious view of the town, and here the legend refers to the freedom of the town granted by Prince Henry in 1604:

'LIBER · AB · HENRICO · FACTUS · SUM · PRINCIPE · BURGUS. 1604.'

Exeter city had a thirteenth-century seal of great beauty. The design is an elaborate edifice of two storeys, with pent roof and flags, between two circular towers, embattled, and enriched with arcades and string courses. Overhead is the sun between a star and a crescent; at the sides two keys; in base, a fleur-de-lis between two wyverns. All these subsidiary figures are emblematic. The free port of Faversham, in Kent, once an important maritime stronghold, bears on its seal of the 'Barons' a warship flying the national flag of St. George, and accompanied by details of considerable value to students

of mediæval maritime and naval architecture and seamanship. The reverse has a large shield of the royal arms of England with the proud motto:

'REGIS · UT · ARMA · REGO · LIBERA · PORTUS · EGO.'

Folkestone, in the same county, had on its 'Barons'' seal a one-masted ship riding on the sea. The Mayoralty seal here gives an effigy of St. Eanswitha, abbess and patron, between two fishes. The 'Barons' of Fordwich, another Kentish seaport, also used the device of a one-masted ship, with sail clewed up, riding on the waves. The mayor here in the thirteenth century had a seal, on which was a lion of England on an oval enclosure set with an antique oval intaglio gem, bearing a fish naiant on a wave. The design of the gem probably recommended itself to the use to which it was put. Francheville, or Newton, in the Isle of Wight, also used the design of a ship of one mast, in combination with a lion of England, a shield of arms charged with a St. George's Cross, and above all, a sun-star and a crescent.

Gloucester city used heraldry, and for its Bailiffs' seal the design of a triple-towered castle standing on the River Severn. Grampound, in Cornwall, delineates a bridge, walled, over a torrent; on the wall the arms of John, Earl of Cornwall, a lion rampant with a border charged with eleven roundles. The name on the legend is Grandpont *alias* Ponsmur, to which the *bridge* and *wall* are as a rebus. Grimsby, co. Lincoln, depicts on the seal of the corporation in the thirteenth century an effigy of the legendary merchant Gryem, armed with sword and shield, and with a divine hand of blessing over his head, between figures of Habloc holding an axe and Goldesburch, crowned, holding a sceptre fleury, all in accordance with the traditional history of the town. The hat of the hero lies below, and the names of the three personages are inscribed in the field. Sir Frederic Madden's Introduction to the *Romance of Havelock* (Roxburghe Club) may

be read with advantage for the elucidation of this tableau. The Mayoralty seal of the fourteenth century depicts a boar hunted by a huntsman blowing a horn and accompanied by a hound. In the background an eagle awaits his share of the chace. The royal seal for the bailiwick of Guernsey shows royal heraldry.

Halifax, co. York, gives a scene illustrating the operation of the 'Gibbet Law' of the Forest of Hardwick, a district co-extensive with Halifax parish. On a tree is a woman hanging from a branch; near by is the hangman with the stolen fruit in his hand which has brought the offender to the fatal tree in accordance with the stern provisions of the forest law. A later seal gives the head of St. John Baptist, with nimbus and *gouttes-de-sang*, between the words 'Haligfax,' a false etymology, within a traced panel, and accompanied with the words Warren-Lewys. Hartlepool, in co. Durham, used, in the thirteenth century, the rebus of a *hart* at gaze in a *pool*, on its haunches a deerhound has sprung. St. Hilda, patron saint, appears with appropriate legend on a thirteenth-century counterseal. She also figures on the Mayor's seal, with book and staff between two bishops. Hastings, formerly an important Cinque port, in Sussex, had a seal of the 'Barons,' in the thirteenth century, of more than usual interest: the design is a one-masted ship with banner-flags of England and of the Cinque ports, ramming another of similar form but without banners, which is cut down to the water's edge, and in the water is seen the head of a drowning seaman. The reverse contains a scene of St. Michael, with shield of arms, a cross cantoned with twelve pellets, trampling on the dragon, and thrusting the foot of a long cross into its head. The legend is

'DRACO · CRUDELIS · TE · VINCET · VIS · MICAELIS.'

Havering-at-Bower Manor, co. Essex, has a triple-towered castle, with a *ring* for a rebus, below. Helston,

co. Cornwall, had an illustration of the deeds of St. Michael as described just above. Henley-in-Arden, co. Warwick, delineated the Holy Trinity, with St. John Baptist and St. John Evangelist. Hereford city had an early seal, apparently of the twelfth century. The design is a shield of arms of archaic form: three lions passant guardant in pale enfiling a banner flag. The later seal, of six hundred years' interval from the former, varies the armorial bearings by placing the lions within a bordure charged with ten saltire crosses, and omits the banner. The crest, supporters, and motto are introduced. Hertford lends itself to a rebus, a *hart* in a *ford*, with a castle and tree on the distant bank, upon its borough seal.

The Wapentake of Holderness, co. York, had an armorial seal. Huntingdon depicts a huntsman with bow and horn, chasing a stag with two hounds. The 'Barons' of Hythe adhere to the ship *motif*. Ilchester Free Grammar School, 1550, gives an open book encircled with radiance for 'LEARNINGE GAYNETH HONOUR,' as it tells us. Ipswich, co. Suffolk, had many seals of the shipping type, or with armorial bearings. Jersey, like Guernsey, used the three lions of England. Kendal, in Westmorland, delineates a landscape of the town with a distant view of a moated castle, and five birds in the field. Its later seal shows a figure of King Charles I., in majesty, half-length. Kidderminster, co. Worcester, places on the seal of its Free Grammar School, 1619, a mysterious mark or monogram, two swords, and a *kid* by way of rebus. The corporation of Kingston-upon-Hull, co. York, gives on its early seal an effigy of King Edward I. standing on a lion couchant, and between two lions of England. Other seals here bear heraldry, castles, or shipping. Kingston-on-Thames has the armorial bearings, on its seal, of three salmon naiant in pale, in base the letter *k*. The fish are said by Burke and Papworth, well-known writers on arms, to be hauriant, which is not the case. Naiant in heraldry signifies swimming in a natural position; hauriant means that

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MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

1. 2. GODWINE AND GODGYTHA, ANGLO-SAXON SEALS

3. 4. THE BARONS OF LONDON

the bodies are perpendicular. Kirkby in Lonsdale Grammar School, in Westmorland, 1591, has a schoolmaster seated on his chair instructing two children. The second line of the couplet for the legend is interesting, and loyally significant of Queen Elizabeth's well-known attention to the welfare of public schools :

'DY · FAVEANT · PUERIS · ELISABETA · SCHOLIS.'

The seal of the city of Lichfield, 1688, deserves consideration. The design is a battlefield strewn with dead bodies, weapons, a flag, and a crown, as a rebus on the name of the town, which up to a comparatively recent period was considered to be derived from the words *lich*, or *lic* (Anglo-Saxon for a corpse), and *field*. But Lichfield is really the corruption of *Luit-coyt-feld*, 'the field of the grey wood,' one of the oldest place-names in the chronicle of Nennius, who in his *Historia Britonum* enumerates '*Cair-Luit-Coyt*' the last in the list of twenty-eight British cities. Lincolnshire, and Lincoln city, depict elaborate castles on their seals, with heraldry. The mayoralty and the woolstaple use the effigy of the Virgin and Child. Liverpool, co. Lancaster, on its Corporation seal of the fourteenth century has the scroll-bearing eagle of St. John. The arms here bear birds sometimes called *livers* or *lithers*, but the first part of this place-name is a generic word for water or river.

The 'Barons' of London City had a fine thirteenth-century seal with St. Paul, patron saint, holding an armorial banner-flag of the arms of the realm, and standing on the tower of Old St. Paul's Cathedral, over a gateway in the embattled wall of the city, within which are tall church spires, and in front the river Thames is drawn. The reverse gives St. Thomas of Canterbury enthroned, and attended by clerics and merchants. In base, under a large arch, a view of the city is given with St. Paul's spire in a central position. The legend of this rare seal is unfortunately imperfect. Later seals affect heraldry.

The 'Corporation for the Poor of the City,' an early body, used, in 1699, a curious seal with emblematic arms on the reverse. This corporation deserves to be rescued from neglect and decay. The Mayoralty seal is very elaborate. The leading characteristic is an architectural screen, bearing effigies of St. Thomas the Martyr and Archbishop, St. Paul with the Sorcerer Elymas prostrate at his feet, the Virgin and Child, angels, men-at-arms, and appropriate heraldry. A later design, of the seventeenth century, owes its inspiration to the previous seal, but substitutes the now fashionable Italian architecture for the Gothic which has passed away. The seal of the Royal College of Physicians of London, 1523, delineates St. Luke the Evangelist writing in a book, and accompanied with armorial bearings, in a paved and panelled hall decorated with floral festoons. The British Museum has for its corporate seal a pseudo-classical design consisting of an Ionic temple, tetrastyle, approached by a flight of three steps, with figures of goddesses, apparently Rhea or Cybele, with a sickle and two crouching lions, and Minerva or Pallas Athene with a scroll, a spear, an owl, and an oval shield charged with the head and snakes of Medusa. The little resemblance of this design to the actual *façade* now standing is probably as close as that of many of the architectural devices on mediæval seals is to the edifice which they claim to represent. There is a faint generic likeness, but when we examine for details the similarity disappears. Many of the Institutions and Merchant Companies of the city use armorial bearings on their seals; others prefer the effigies of patron saints or depict episodes in the lives of their tutelary protectors. As, for example, the Company of Brewers and that of Leather-sellers bear the Assumption of the Virgin; the Drapers' Company the Coronation of the Virgin attended by the Dove of the Holy Spirit, angels, and under her mantle a group of votaries; the Company of Merchant-Taylors, St. John Baptist with the Lamb in a wilderness of two trees and between a lion

and a unicorn, accompanied with heraldry; the Wax-Chandlers, our Lord in majesty with radiance, and the Almighty Father blessing Him from the clouds; the New River Company, which brought water from Chadwell and Amwell to London, only recently swallowed up by the Metropolitan Water Board after a career of close upon three hundred years, a view of the City of London in 1612, with a divine hand issuing from the sky and scattering rain on the city in illustration of the legend which is engraved on the seal:

'ET · PLUI · SUPER · UNAM · CIVITATEM' (Amos iv. 7).

The reverse of this seal has the design of a fleur-de-lis; and the seal of the early trading 'Company for Making Hollow Sword Blades in England,' used in 1704, loyally depicted two of its 'hollow blades' on an altar, before which is seated a figure of Britannia.

East Looe, in Cornwall, has a one-masted ship with embattled castles on its thirteenth-century seal. Ludlow, co. Salop, a marcher town, the strategical position of which was of the highest mediæval importance, had many seals of the armorial type. Lydd, a port of Kent, bears on the thirteenth-century seal of its 'Barons' a tall spired church with a ship of war issuing from behind it, and a shield of arms, quarterly, four lions rampant, suspended by a strap from a hook. Lyme Regis, in co. Dorset, was also a maritime port of much importance in the middle ages, and its thirteenth-century seal is full of curious details. On the sea we observe a ship with one mast, and banner-flags of royal heraldry. In the field over the ship are our Lord on the Cross, between the Virgin Mary and St. John the Beloved; Michael the Archangel, the patron saint of the town, carrying a shield charged with the cross of St. George, and piercing the head of the vanquished dragon with a long cross. Overhead are the constantly attendant devices of the sun-star of six wavy rays and the crescent enclosing an

estoile, all of which subordinate details have meaning of high significance in regard to the history of the town and port. Lymington, in co. Southampton, once a noted port, bears a ship with shield of arms hanging from its mast.

King's Lynn, in Norfolk, has a beautiful seal of the thirteenth century, bearing on the one side the eagle of St. John Evangelist grasping a scroll which is inscribed with the initial words of his Gospel, on the other St. Margaret, the patron saint of the town, holding a book, and a long cross, with which she is piercing the head of the dragon who lies below. His tail bears the resemblance of a head. This device is set below an elaborate Gothic architectural erection like a triumphal arch. The legend is explanatory:

'SUB · MARGARETA · TERITUR · DRACO · STAT · CRUCE · LETA.'

The same *motif* appears, with modifications and heraldry introduced, on the Privy seal of the mayoralty. Macclesfield, co. Chester, depicts on its Free Grammar School seal of 1552 a pedagogue threateningly holding aloft a birch-rod in one hand, in the other he has a book. He is seated on a bench, and is a living embodiment of teaching after the old style by book and by birch. Maidenhead, co. Berks, has the rebus of a maiden's head, nimbed, perhaps for the Virgin Mary, with a meaningless legend. Maidstone, in Kent, bears a view of the town with churches, houses, river, and bridge. The Mayoralty seal could not resist the easy rebus suggested by the town's name, and delineates a *maid*, without apparel, standing on a *stone*. Maldon, in Essex, bears the device of a one-masted vessel, embattled at each end, and its sail furled up. Malmesbury, co. Wilts, has a triple-towered castle with domed central turret. The fine work here contrasts with the rudely designed castle of the seal of Marazion, in Cornwall. The Free Grammar School of Middleton, in Lancashire, 1572, preserves a figure of Queen Elizabeth in majesty. The liberty of South

Molton, in co. Devon, delineates a fleece, between the crown of Charles II. and the mitre of the Bishop of Exeter. Monmouth city and the town of Newborough, in Anglesea, severally use the favourite one-masted ship, of which we have already noticed so many examples with variant details. Newbury, co. Berks, shows a castle. Newcastle-under-Lyme, co. Stafford, has a curious form of castellated edifice, on the central tower of which is a banner-flag between two men-at-arms, the one holding a battle-axe, the other blowing a horn. It is accompanied with armorial bearings. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, co. Northumberland, bears an embattled castle with two shields of early form. Later seals of this city adopt heraldry or the triple-towered castle as their devices. The ancient Brotherhood of Ostmen here had the design of the master receiving one of the Brethren, or Ostes, to whom he says, 'WELCOME · MY · OSTE.' The Antiquarian Society here, 1813, has a pseudo-classic design for its seal, on which is the figure of Minerva, or Antiquity. Newport in the Isle of Wight had a one-masted ship-of-war with flag and cross of St. George for its design in the fifteenth century, but in the eighteenth it was not without the dignity of a three-master, duly embattled, and charged on the principal sail with a royal lion of England. Northampton affected the castle type.

Norwich city also follows this type, with much elaboration. The seal used in 1559 was altered, in 1573, to suit the changed religious sentiment which was in that later period passing like a wave over England. The obverse bears a castle and a lion of England below it, both of which devices now form integral parts of the city arms. The reverse originally had in an elaborately carved niche of two storeys a figure of the Trinity, but in the latter year above mentioned this was clumsily erased, leaving portions of the drapery still visible, and an ornamentally carved entablature inscribed with the sacred name 'IMMANUEL,' written in four lines containing two letters in each, was substituted. This was placed on a

plinth dated 1573. On each side of the niche, in a penthouse, an angel bears a shield of arms. Other seals connected with the local government bear the castle, the lion, and other armorials. The Mayoralty seal of 1403 held at first a figure of the Holy Trinity with concomitant heraldry, but it was altered at the Reformation (when humanly conceived figures of the united triad of Divine personages were eschewed as being sacrilegious) by substituting a scene of the Resurrection of our Lord. Nottingham city had a castle on its Corporation seal, accompanied with the frequently recurring sun-star and crescent. Oswestry, co. Salop, takes delight in the rebus type, it is unnecessary to add, by recourse to erroneous derivation. Here we observe St. *Oswald*, king and martyr, patron saint, enthroned, holding in the one hand a sword, in the other a *tree* to complete the picture.

Oxford city gives us another example of the rebus on the fourteenth-century seal of its mayor, whereon is depicted an *ox* passing a *ford*; in the background an oak-tree, on the right a shield of arms bearing a cross, perhaps the original device of the city. It is distressing to see the adherence to a false etymology by a city justly celebrated for its knowledge and intelligence. As the first syllable of the name represents a generic word for a stream, a word remnant of an archaic language which was spoken long before the Britons, Saxons, or Danes came to these islands, if the *ox* had been left out of the design, the *ford* alone would have sufficed for the rebus. The University and Colleges naturally have many seals. The earlier Chancellor's seal shows that dignitary engaged in instructing his pupils: a later type imports heraldry into the scene. University College, 1249, depicts St. Cuthbert of Durham seated on a throne composed of two lions statant guardant, and holding the crowned head of St. Oswald. St. Edmund, or Canterbury, Hall, founded in the time of King Henry III., gives the Martyrdom of Thomas à Becket. Balliol College, 1260, represents the Virgin and Child, accompanied with heraldry,

and attended by John Balliol of Barnard Castle, the founder, and his lady, Devorguilla, with armorial bearings. A later seal depicts St. Catherine. Merton College, 1264, has an artistic design of the Virgin and Child, with a Vine, emblem of the Son, and fleur-de-lis, emblem of the Mother, appropriately introduced into the tableau. One of its later seals shows an effigy of our Lord at the Resurrection of the Just, holding up a cloth in which are five half-length figures. The legend is suitably chosen:

'DOMINI · EST · ASSUMTIO · NOSTRA,'

from Psalm lxxxviii. Stapeldon Hall, afterwards removed to Exeter College, 1314, gives the Divine Mother and Child, the founder, and armorial bearings which refer to the foundation. Oriel College, 1326, has a beautiful scene of the Annunciation, in which the lily-pot is found between the two principal personages, after the conventional manner adopted by the mediæval artists of this period when dealing with this event. Queen's College, 1340, appropriately shows on its seal an effigy of Queen Philippa of Hainault, wife of King Edward III., in majesty, and accompanied by shields of arms. This design gave place, after the new establishment of the College by Queen Elizabeth, to a figure of that Virgin Queen.

New College delineates the celebrated William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, 1367; the Annunciation designed in the manner just above described; St. Peter and St. Paul; and heraldry proper to the understanding of the history of the College. Lincoln College, 1427, places on its seal an effigy of St. Hugh of Lincoln. All Souls' College, 1437, with appropriate taste, gives an interesting tableau of the Day of Judgment. Here is beheld our Lord, seated in a canopied niche, and wearing the cruciferous nimbus which is associated with His mystical or post-resurrection state, lifting up His hands to enter into Judgment. On each side He is

attended by a number of personages, a crowned king, a pope with tiara and patriarchal cross, an archbishop, a cardinal, and other ecclesiastical dignitaries are waiting to hear their doom, and in base the souls of the human race are rising from their graves: all set between shields of arms royal and religious. Brasenose College, 1509, has the Holy Trinity in niches of very late Gothic work, supported on four twisted columns that were a more usual feature of the Italian architecture than of the Gothic which was to bow down very soon before it. Here are also two sainted bishops with mitre, pall, and pastoral staff, the one feeding a swan, the other holding a book. It has been thought that these represent St. Hugh of Lincoln and St. Chad of Lichfield. Christ Church, 1547, gives the Blessed Trinity in a round-headed niche of the style of the Renaissance. Curiously altered in some respects, the figure of the Almighty Father is enveloped in a mantle within the ample folds of which are three personages on each side; among them may be distinguished a king and ecclesiastics of high degree. The Virgin and Child; a crowned and nimbed Saint with staff, book, and ox couchant; a shield of arms; and griffin supporters, complete the multifarious imagery of this design.

Pembrokeshire Chancery had some interesting seals of the equestrian type. In one, used in 1387, William de Beauchamp, Custos of the county, rides in armour with armorial bearings of his family. In another, 1424, Prince Humphrey, youngest son of King Henry IV., Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Pembroke, and Chamberlain of England, rides in armour *cap-à-pie*, on a proudly caparisoned charger, with heraldry, and the background replenished with sprigs of the broom-plant of the so-called Plantagenet race. The reverse bears a demi-angel issuing from heaven, and having round the neck a beaded strap from which hangs a large shield of the owner's arms. In a later seal, 1448, we find the equestrian effigy of William de la Pole, Marquess and Earl of

Suffolk, Earl of Pembroke, and Great Chamberlain, in armour *cap-à-pie*, on a horse caparisoned and plumed, with accompanying heraldry. The reverse bears an ornamental tree beautifully designed with conventional foliage, and a central flower, on which is suspended the shield of arms of this noble warrior supported by two wild boars collared. Penzance, in Cornwall, had a seal, dated 1614, on which is seen an oval dish containing the head of St. John Baptist, there placed in reference to the annual ceremonies and fair carried on in the town on Midsummer Day sacred to the nativity of that great saint.

Pevensey, in Sussex, once a great maritime place, has a thirteenth-century seal of the one-masted ship type, which recommends itself highly to the student of early shipping forms and methods of navigation. Heraldry and the crescent and sun-star are not wanting in the scene. The reverse shows two ships of early form: that on the left, which seems to be in collision, or contact, with the other, contains St. Nicholas, patron saint of this and many other towns and cities set upon the sea, with his episcopal vestments and staff, lifting up the right hand of blessing. The legend is confused, but apparently intended for a rhyming pentameter:

'SANCTE · NICOLAE · DUC · NOS · SPONTE · TRAHE.'

Pev', at the end of the legend, is redundant or explanatory. Plymouth town has a late figure of its patron, Saint Andrew, with angels holding shields of arms. The new seal of the corporation, 1835, mingles the armed ship of the older seals with the heraldry of the newer age. Pocklington Free Grammar School, co. York, 1526, shows, on a geometrical pavement, Archdeacon Doweman, the founder, adoring figures of our Lord as a Child, the Virgin and Child, and St. Nicholas of Myra accompanied by the three youths who were miraculously restored to life by the saint's intercession after having been cruelly done to death and dismembered

in a pickle-tub. The field here is replenished with trifurcate tongues of Holy Fire, and the sacred monogram I · H · S · appears five times over. The corporation of Pontefract used, in the fourteenth century, the triple-towered castle type; the mayoralty of the seventeenth century affected a kind of bastard heraldry, in which the castle, a bridge of three piers, or perhaps an heraldic label of as many points for St. Thomas, the canonised Earl of Lancaster, lord thereof, and the letters V. P., for *Villa Pontisfracti*, occupy the quarterings.

Poole, co. Dorset, another seaport, once great, now fallen from its high estate, but being gradually awakened and resuscitated from the lethargy of past centuries by its flourishing neighbour, Bournemouth, adopted in the thirteenth century the type of the one-masted armed ship-of-war, accompanied with a shield of the arms of William Longespeie, lord of the manor of Canford, in which Poole was a part, in the time of Richard I. This town has many seals, principally heraldic. Portsmouth, in like manner, has numerous seals. The corporation adopted, in the same century as that which originated the seal of Poole, the naval type of the one-masted fighting-ship. The reverse is of much interest, and shows a building of ecclesiastical appearance but perhaps intended for a town hall, elaborately detailed, its pointed arches, pinnacled and bracketed, containing figures of the Virgin and Child, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and St. Nicholas, here, too, one of the co-patrons of the town and the especially venerated protector of sailors and seafarers. The legend is invocatory:

'PORTUM · VIRGO · JUVA · NICHOLAE · FOVE · REGE · THOMA.'

By an error *roge* is engraved instead of the clearly obvious *rege*. Preston, in co. Lancaster, affects the Agnus Dei, and heraldry. Reading, in co. Bucks, bears a crowned head with long hair between other four heads with long hair, turned three-quarters to the centre. East

Retford, co. Nottingham, had an early seal, bearing two eagles in combat. The 'Honour of Richmond,' co. York, had a seal of appropriate armorial bearings; the Common seal of the burgesses of the town used the design of the Holy Trinity with heraldry, but the 1603 signet has the double cinquefoil rose, symbolical of the happy union of the White and Red Roses of York and Lancaster, and immortalised by the clever epigram written at the time, and referred to in the notice of the seal of the Savoy hospital. There is also a royal seal for Recognizances, about 1668, with heraldry, and over the shield, impressed by a small matrix, which could be used separately by the town clerk, a device shaped like an inverted shield, bearing a double rose *en soleil*, crowned. The Free Grammar School, 1567, depicts St. James the Greater, friend and comforter of pilgrims, with heraldry.

The citizens of Rochester have on their seal a view of Rochester Castle on the river Medway on the one side, and St. Andrew, patron of the city, on the other, his crucifixion being artistically treated. The 'Barons' of Romney, co. Kent, had a seal of 1558, when a new Charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth. This is of the one-masted ship type, and, poor in work as it was, a still coarser copy was made. Romney Marsh, co. Kent, had a seal made in 1560, and used in 1622, representing a church, and accompanied with the royal arms of the Virgin Queen. A later seal, made in 1665, shows a view of the 'Marsh,' with a church, and a war-ship at sea, flying the flag of St. George, a cross, for England. Rye, another port of once great value, co. Sussex, had for its 'Barons' the one-masted type of ship on its seal. The details of the rigging are curious: the sail has reef points in three rows, an embattled 'crow's-nest,' flags charged with St. George's cross, and many other points worthy of notice. The reverse shows a view or elevation of the church, elaborately drawn, with the Virgin and Child, the sun, moon, and stars. Saffron Walden, co. Essex, puts on its Common seal a

hideous rebus of three *saffron* plants in flower *walled in* by an embattled *enceinte* or containing wall. Salisbury city adopted the scene of the Annunciation, an event treated in several ways according to the period of making the seals. The counterseal of John Halle, mayor in 1465, bears impression of an antique oval intaglio gem of the Gnostic period, engraved with a figure of John Baptist, wearing the camel's-hair coat, and with nimbed head, holding the Agnus Dei, and giving a blessing. Beneath his feet there is apparently a serpent.

The 'Barons' of Sandwich, co. Kent, followed the conventionalism of other seaport towns, and represented on their thirteenth-century seal a one-masted ship on a sea replenished with fishes. The details, which deserve study for the light they throw on the history of navigation and seamanship, include the carrying of a small boat on board at the foot of the mast. The reverse, bearing a lion of England, crowned, between two elegantly drawn trees, is enhanced by the motto:

'QUI · SERVARE · GREGEM · CELI · SOLET · INDICO · REGEM.'

The lion, therefore, mystically here represents the Lion of the Tribe of Judah, that is, Jesus Christ. The seal of Sandwich Free Grammar School, 1563, depicts our Lord teaching the disciples; at His feet an infant; in the field a pedagogue and five children under an arch. The motto is

'AD · ME · VENIRE · SINITE · PARVULOS.'

Scarborough, co. York, gives a castle and a ship, thereby denoting the twofold nature of the town. The later seal prefers the warship with embattled round-towers, bearing St. George's flag. Seaford, co. Sussex, has an eagle rising, and on the reverse an antique ship of three masts. Sheffield, co. York, perpetuates a ridiculous rebus con-

sisting of a *sheaf* of arrows in the *field*. The Town seal, 1554, gives fifteen arrows, the Grammar School, 1603-4, has but twelve. Shrewsbury, co. Salop, had on the Corporation seal of 1425 a view of the town with embattled *enceinte*, and appropriate armorial bearings. The Drapers' Company of this town had a quaint representation of God the Father and a legend referring to the Holy Trinity. Southampton adopted for the county sheriffs the types of heraldry or the castle. The town had the design of the one-masted ship at first; then the Virgin and Child with many added details. The later seal adopted a three-masted ship carrying St. George's flag, and armorial bearings. This town had numerous seals. Southwark St. Olave's Free Grammar School, in the sixteenth century, shows us the interior of the school with the master seated before a table on which are a birch-rod and open book; before him five pupils are deliberating which of the two to choose. St. Mary Overie's, or St. Saviour's Free Grammar School, 1573, has similar details; the master, the scholars, and the birch, differently portrayed. Stafford uses the triple-towered castle with the lions of England, and a fish naiant in the lower part of the design. The sheriffs of Suffolk used the device of the triple-towered castle, with or without family arms. Taunton, co. Somerset, had for its thirteenth-century Common seal a castle of unusual design, accompanied with a fleur-de-lis between two birds, and other significant emblems.

Tenterden town and hundred, in Kent, delineates a one-masted warship flying St. George's flag, between the crescent and the star; on the reverse is an effigy of St. Mildred, the patron, crowned, and holding book and staff, with heraldry. Thetford, co. Norfolk, gives an embattled castle elaborately drawn; in the towers, a knight and a trumpeter. Torrington, co. Devon, represents a fleur-de-lis on waves with other details. The honour of Tutbury used the design of a hunting-horn of the honour, surmounted by a shield on which the royal

arms of the realm, and the bearing of the Ferrars family, are impaled. Wallingford, co. Berks, bears on its Common seal the effigy of a king in armour riding over a *ford*, in allusion to the name of the town. Wantage, formerly Wanting, co. Berks, had for its seal's device a rich man giving coin to a beggar. Warwick corporation had a nicely designed seal of the thirteenth century bearing a castle with curiously built tower in the centre, charged with a shield of arms combining the armorials of the Beauchamp family and of Guy, Earl of Warwick. On the side towers are watchmen blowing horns, and there are other symbolical details. Wells city, co. Somerset, shows the city by the figure of a bridge with houses, towers, and other details. Above is our Lord half-length, issuing from the clouds, and between the sun as a full-face head with invected nimbus, and the moon's crescent as a head in profile. The reverse shows a *well*, by way of rebus on the town's name, with water issuing from it, a pike or lucy-fish naiant in the water, and a long-billed bird pecking at it: over the well is a tree on a mount, and a flock of birds on the tree or in the field. The legend invokes St. Andrew, the patron saint:

'ANDREA · FAMULOS · MORE · TUERE · TUOS,'

but there is no effigy of St. Andrew in the tableau. The Common seal of the borough of Wenlock, in Salop, gives us figures of the Holy Trinity between the patron St. Milburga with staff and lion or other animal at her feet, and St. Michael the Archangel with shield bearing a cross, in combat with the dragon. All this is accompanied with heraldry and other symbols.

Weymouth, including Melcombe Regis, co. Dorset, had many seals. The early Common seal of 'Melcoma' depicts an antique ship with single mast, and armorials which refer to the era of King Edward II. Heraldry is the chief subject of other seals. The Admiralty of

Melcombe gives a three-masted ship of war flying the flag of St. George. Wigan, co. Lancaster, had seals on which was a church-like town hall of interesting architecture. Wilton, co. Wilts, gives a shrine censed by a thurifer angel, with shield of arms of the realm, and a female figure, perhaps St. Eadgytha, praying. The mayoralty here affects the Coronation of the Virgin. The 'Barons' of Winchelsea, co. Sussex, formerly a first-class seaport, used the one-masted ship type, replete with attractive detail of sea life. The reverse shows on waves a two-storied tower wherein is an ecclesiastic receiving the homage of a suppliant. This part of the design appears to have been produced on each impression by a separate moveable matrix; above, another similar piece of simple mechanism produced the figure of a saint with a palm-branch, at a window opening. Probably the parts, which when combined made a perfect impression of the seal, were kept in the custody of separate persons, who had to meet before they could ratify any deed by attaching the seal. Over this is an embattled tower with banner-flag, and watchman with a lantern. The royal arms, the houses of the town, niches containing St. Giles with his fawn, and a huntsman with a horn, form moveable parts, and a spirited scene of the martyrdom of St. Thomas of Canterbury, also from a moveable piece, make up the *ensemble* of this curiously made seal. The legend invokes the Saints Giles and Thomas:

'EGIDIO · THOME · LAUDUM · PLEBS · CANTICA · PROME · NE · SIT · IN · ANGARIA · GREX · SUUS · AMNE · VIA.'

A second seal, close copy of the preceding, was made in the fourteenth century, and the subordinate designs, which are moveable in the early seal, here seem to be fixed as an integral part of the matrix. Winchester city, co. Southampton, had a triple-towered castle on its seal of the mayoralty. The College of St. Mary shows St. Paul and St. Peter with their emblems; the Annunciation of the Virgin treated in the conventional manner

of the period, 1387; the armorial bearings of the founder, William of Wykeham, and other symbolical ideas. Windsor burgesses had a design of a triple-towered castle with the royal armorials of King Edward I. and Queen Eleanor of Castile. The mayor of the borough of New Windsor gives a castle with a stag's head cabossed over it, having a shield of royal arms between the antlers. The Castle seal depicts a stag's head having between the antlers a triple-towered castle. The College employed on its seal a shield bearing the cross of St. George. Worksworth Free Grammar School, 1565, gives an effigy of Anthony Gell of Hopton, the founder, with his heraldry.

Wisbech delineates St. Paul and St. Peter on the seal of the 'Inhabitants of the Town,' in the sixteenth century. The Castle seal of 1409 gives a curious edifice, with two side turrets, a keep with three turrets, embattled, and windows or loop-holes of quatrefoil shape. Wolverhampton, co. Stafford, has a remarkable design of a complicated nature on its comparatively modern seal. Worcester city shows an irregular view of the Cathedral, of much interest for its detail. Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, a valuable seaport in olden days, has a three-masted ship of war with furled sails, riding over the sea. Yarmouth, in co. Norfolk, also at one time a port of much frequentation for mariners and merchants, used the type of a one-masted ship with mariners engaged in some of the mysterious evolutions of seamanship nowalmost beyond elucidation—sailors furling sail, a trumpeter or master in the 'castle' on the right, a steersman, and one who is hauling on a rope all enter into the scene. The reverse delineates St. Nicolas, bishop, patron of the town and parish, protector of seamen, and wonder-worker both on sea and on land, sitting on a carved bench in dignity ecclesiastical, attended with flying angels swinging censers. The invocative legend here is

'O · PASTOR · VERE · TIBI · SUBJECTIS · MISERERE.'

The bailiffs also use the one-masted ship type, combined

with royal heraldry. Yeovil, co. Somerset, depicts St. John Baptist with his Lamb. York city shows on its twelfth-century seal of the citizens a triple-towered castle of antique fashion, and on the reverse St. Peter. A second seal treats these two themes somewhat variantly, and the Privy seal of the city, of the fifteenth century, combines the key of St. Peter with the city castle.

Descriptions or criticisms of many local seals have been omitted from want of space, but enough has been said here to show the large and interesting variety of types employed for the designs and devices of seals used for districts and for secular institutions. The earlier examples are without doubt the finest. After the fourteenth century, which is the best period, they begin to decay as works of fine art, and as time goes on the decadence becomes more and more apparent. Modern seals for local uses are, with remarkably few exceptions, contemptible alike in design and workmanship.

CHAPTER VII

SOME OFFICIAL SEALS RELATING TO WALES

THE seals of Wales follow, in a great measure, those of England, so far as art and interest are concerned. There are not very many which belong to this class, but some collections of documents have been recently put in order and described, which has resulted in bringing additions to those known before that time, and the Transactions of Societies connected with Archæology and History sometimes contain accounts and illustrations of seals which help to fill the deficiency there is among more interesting classes of the seals of the Welsh. One of the earliest important seals is that of Llewellyn, Prince of North Wales, attached to a charter among the Cottonian Collections in the British Museum, of about the date 1222. Here the prince, clad in armour, with surcoat and sword, is riding on a galloping horse, harnessed according to the style of the period. The counterseal, the matrix perhaps once worn on the finger of the owner as a ring, bears the impression of an antique oval intaglio gem, engraved with the figure of a boar under a tree. Prince Edward, Earl of Chester, eldest son of King Edward I., and afterwards King of England, also had an equestrian seal, but of more elaborate design, showing the owner with the hauberk of mail, the ample surcoat, the helmet with closed vizor and fan plume, sword, and shield—in fact the full panoply of military pride, on a galloping horse, and bearing a shield of his royal arms, properly differenced, slung over the shoulder. In the legend he is

'EDWARDUS · ILLUSTRIS · REGIS · ANGLIE · FILIUS.'

On the reverse is a finely designed rosette of eight lobes, containing a shield of the same arms suspended from an oak-tree. The legend here styles him

'PRINCE OF WALES, EARL OF CHESTER, AND COUNT OF PONTHIEU.'

Edward the Black Prince had a seal of majesty, wherein on the one side he sits with robes and sceptre under a fine carved canopy, and in the field on each side is an ostrich feather labelled and accompanied with the initials E. P. The reverse is of the equestrian type: the rider in armour with coat of royal arms, helmet and chapeau, crest of England, the lion with extended tail, sword and shield of royal arms; the horse with armorial caparisons. Other seals of this prince, used about 1350 and 1360, consist of very beautiful heraldic devices of elaborate work, into which the ostrich feather enters, and the whole is set within a carved Gothic panel of elegant proportion. In all, there are five different armorial seals of this prince. A good seal of fifteenth-century style was adopted by Henry IV. and his successors down to Henry VII., for the principality of North Wales. This, which is in diameter about three and a quarter inches, represents on the one side the prince-king, lord of his principality, in armour, with hauberk, and plates at knee and elbow, the crest of England on his helmet, a broadsword and shield of arms. The charger is caparisoned and protected with plate armour on the neck and face; the plume consists of the three ostrich feathers, which have always been associated with the Prince of Wales, and the armorial bearings are not unlike those of the kingdom, but have slight modifications. The three lions are passant reguardant, in pale, the tails set between the hind legs and then up over the back. The reverse bears a shield of the same arms, enhanced with a coronet of five cinquefoils arranged alternately with four fleurs-de-lis. The supporters also represent Wales, two dragons

sejant addorsed with the tails nowed, and holding up an ostrich feather labelled. Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward v., used in 1476 a seal which, from the unique specimen in the British Museum, was apparently a copy of the preceding seal. Passing onward, *longo intervallo*, to James I., we find that king used a seal bearing a shield of the royal arms, with supporters of two lions sejant guardant holding up ostrich feathers. Charles I., when Prince of Wales, had a 'Great Seal' for this principality, showing him in equestrian type, the ostrich feathers on the horse's plume; and the armorial bearings are quarterly four lions passant guardant countercharged for Llewellyn ap Griffith, the last Prince of North Wales. Nor are the arms of Chester and Cornwall, and his own family arms, properly differenced, forgotten in this seal. The reverse is heraldic, with the royal supporters of lion and wyvern, each with a label for difference, and in base, on a mount, is a plume of three ostrich feathers within a jewelled coronet tied with a scroll bearing a motto. For the council of the marches Charles II. used an armorial seal with the feathers of the principality. Prince Frederick Louis of Brunswick-Luneburgh, Duke of Gloucester, etc., son of King George II., had a Council seal on which the design of the feathers within a jewelled coronet is set accompanied with the appropriate motto. Prince George, afterwards King George IV., as Prince of Wales used armorial seals with the 'ICH DIEN' motto for the Prince of Wales.

The judicial administration of the twelve counties of Wales was so arranged that four groups of three counties each were constituted, and each group was represented by a special seal. Several impressions of these seals remain, and they are occasionally met with on exemplifications and other records of the processes of the Royal Courts of Great Session. The sovereign is delineated in armour, riding on a caparisoned horse, which is wearing a plume of ostrich feathers; and accompanied with royal badges and the royal style on the legend. The groups of cos.

Brecknock, Radnor, and Glamorgan are represented by the seal of James I., among others; Carmarthen, Cardigan, and Pembroke, by those of Queen Elizabeth and James I.; Carnarvon, Merioneth, and Anglesea, by those of Edward VI., Charles I., the Commonwealth (the latter using the map on the one side and House of Parliament in session on the other, as in the Great Seal already mentioned in a former chapter); and Denbigh, Montgomery, and Flint by those of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., and Charles II. There are unimportant variations in these judicial seals, but the type is practically the same. It is curious to notice that Queen Elizabeth is represented in plate armour, with crowned helmet, crest of England, sword and shield, riding on a caparisoned horse, in the seal of the Denbigh group.

In addition to these, the seal of King Edward II., for delivery of wool and hides at Kermerdyn, *i.e.* Carmarthen, is extant, the matrix being preserved among the Mediæval Antiquities of the British Museum. Here the shield of arms of England, suspended by the strap from a hook, is placed between two rose branches, and on the reverse the three lions of England, not on a shield, are very finely designed. Henry, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Henry V., had for his lordship of Carmarthen an equestrian seal of great beauty, the horse caparisoned and armoured, wearing the fan plume or *panache* and a ridge of peculiar shape to protect the nose. The armorial bearings are those of Henry IV., but the *semé-de-lis* of France Ancient is replaced here by the three fleurs-de-lis of France Modern, a change which is believed to have taken place between 1406 and 1409. The background of this seal is replenished with twigs of the broom-plant, symbolical of the royal house to which some historians have given the name of Plantagenet. The Chancery seal of Charles II. for the Carmarthen triad of counties is a little variant in point of type. It bears the equestrian figure of the king, on a mount replenished with flowers,

and having a dwarfed oak-tree in the background: the horse is not furnished with caparisons. The diameters of these Welsh seals vary, from about one inch to three inches, the judicial seals for the groups of counties being in some of the later examples upwards of three inches wide. They evoke a considerable amount of interest, and the heraldry, with the various badges and supporters, is always well drawn according to the canons which govern the correct delineation of such devices.

James I. uses for the Brecknock group the crowned portcullis badge, the greyhound and antelope supporters. Elizabeth for the Carmarthen group uses the crowned portcullis, a dragon and a creature resembling what is termed an heraldic antelope; James I. for the same group a portcullis on a quatrefoil, a dragon and a goat; Edward VI. for the Carnarvon group a greyhound and a stag. Charles I. for the same introduces a greyhound coursing a hare on the equestrian side, and ornaments the caparisons of the horse with fleurs-de-lis, roses, cushions, and pairs of annulets, while his supporters are also a greyhound and a stag. Henry VIII. and his two successors, Edward VI. and Elizabeth, for the Denbigh group support the royal arms with a lion and a stag, but James I. for the same group uses the lion and the antelope, and in this respect he is followed by Charles I. and Charles II. The ostrich feathers, the motto ICH DIEN, and some other details are almost constant in their recurrence.

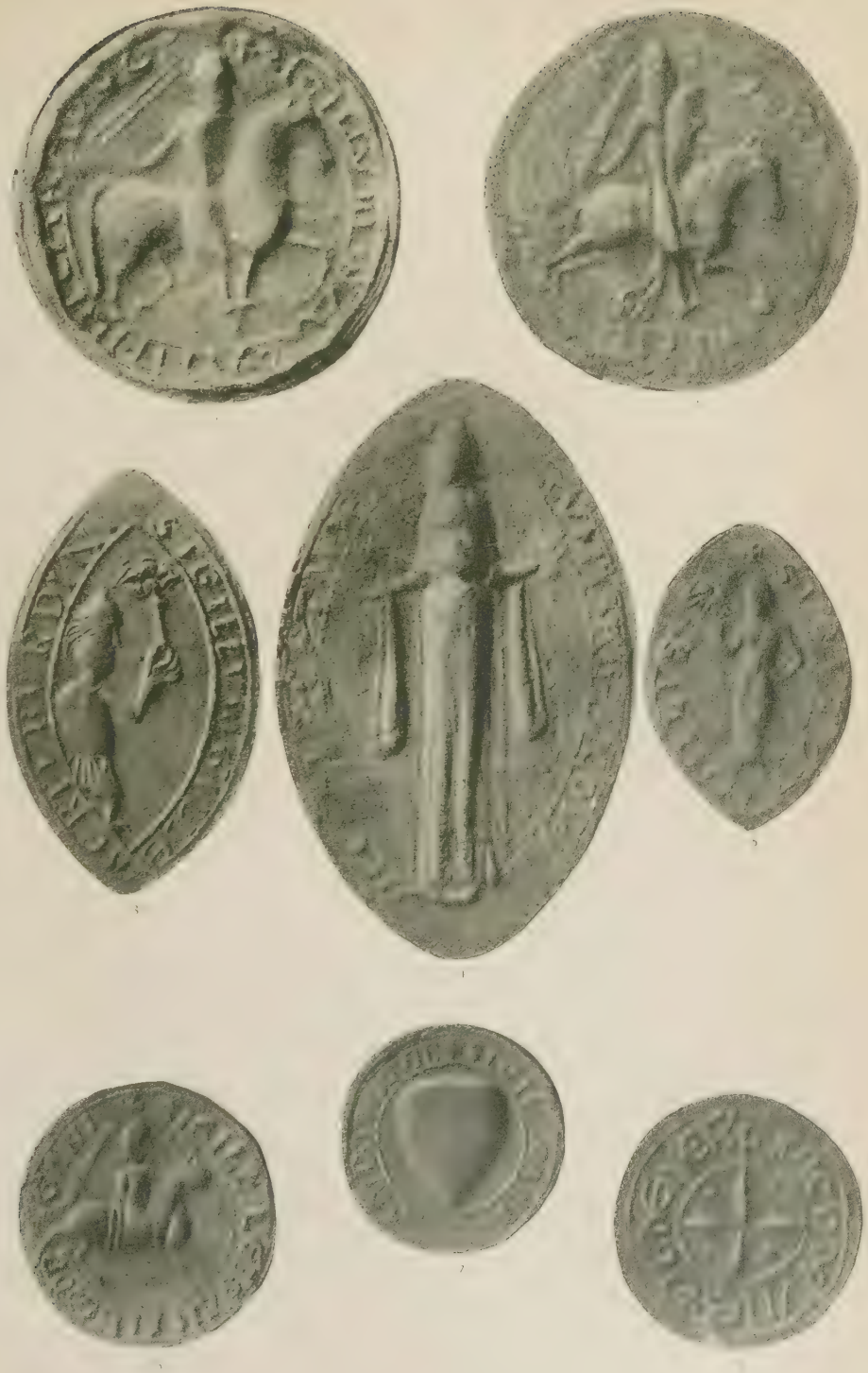
CHAPTER VIII

SOME EQUESTRIAN SEALS AND SEALS OF NOBLE LADIES OF ENGLAND AND WALES

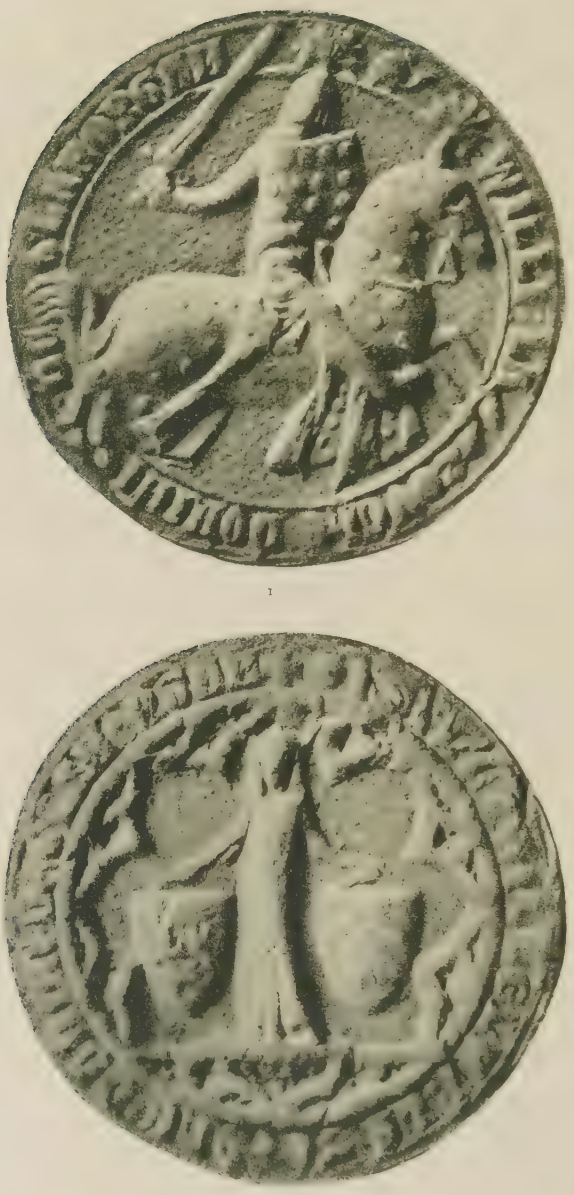
THE landed proprietors and noblemen frequently affected in England and Wales the equestrian type of seal. This was usually round, and varied from about an inch and a half to three inches in diameter; some, however, are of less diameter than an inch and a half, and others again exceed the maximum above mentioned. The earliest of these is very rude and archaic in appearance, the drawing both of the horse and of his rider primitive and unnatural, and the whole aspect of the design crude and unpleasing. These begin about the end of the eleventh century or beginning of the twelfth, and continue during the latter century well on into the thirteenth, in some instances. But the details are of interest: the conical helmet; the hauberk, often showing by hatched lines or cross-strokes, and interlacing rings, the character of the armour then worn by prominent military personages in an age when nearly every one of rank and prominence, other than a dignitary of the church, turned his attention to the necessary study and practice of the arts of war; the broadsword; the convex kite-shaped shield with or without heraldry; and the trappings of the horse are all worth study. The late Mr. Hewitt, whose well-known work on the history of armour is a sound and valuable textbook on the subject with which it deals, was very greatly indebted to a minute study of equestrian seals for many of his observations. The thirteenth-century witnessed a great improvement in the fashion of armour, and the seals of

this age reflect very faithfully the onward progress of time. Armorial bearings become more frequent, the coat of mail gradually takes on the shoulder-pieces and knee-pieces, the *ailettes* and *genouillères*, which are the precursors of plate armour; the headgear is modified from the conical basin shape to the flat-topped helmet with or without plume, panache, or crest; the surcoat occasionally exhibits heraldic bearings, the whole design becomes more pleasing to the eye, from the better drawing and better proportion of the details; and the counterseal, either of gem or shield of arms, is not infrequently brought into use to enhance the interest of the seal. Sometimes the rider carries a falcon on his wrist, held by the jesses, as in the case of William de Adelvaldeleie, or Adwaldley, in Yorkshire, in the early thirteenth century, and Ralph of Halton, co. Lincoln, in the twelfth century.

Helias de Albeni about 1175 carries a hawk, and in the foreground there are two hounds following their master to the chace. Osbern, son of Pontius of Longney, co. Gloucester, is flying a hawk at a quarry, on his seal about 1100, and many others. The central spike, boss, or umbo with which the shield was furnished in the early periods frequently appears on the shields of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The practice of showing the interior surface of the shield, which is not uncommon in the earliest seals, prevents our ascertaining the exact early date of the use of armorial bearings, but this gives way in the thirteenth century to the showing of the heraldry on the shield. Armorial caparisons also come into fashion, so far as seals are concerned, early in this century, and occasionally they are of very large extent, almost covering up the body of the horse. The fourteenth century saw the use of the coronet and the crest, and occasionally the introduction of Gothic tracery to surround the shield of arms in the counterseal, as in the case of Thomas of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick about 1344. The lance-flag sometimes takes the place of the sword, sometimes it accompanies that weapon. The antique oval or round



SEALS OF SOUTH WALES



WILLIAM LA ZOUCHE AND ALIANORA DE CLARE, 1329

intaglio gem, from the ring or private seal of the warrior, occasionally occurs, as in the seal of Robert of Berkeley, late in the twelfth century. Humphrey of Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, used in 1259 a very finely worked equestrian seal with an armorial counterseal. His lesser seal delineates him with a hawk on his wrist about 1274.

Ernald de Bosco, of co. Northampton, puts the impression of an ancient gem, engraved with three classical figures, one of which has a helmet and shield, on his counterseal. Henry de Bosco, in the time of Henry III., represented the mail of his surcoat with a chequy or hatched pattern. Conan Le Petit, Duke of Brittany and Earl of Richmond, towards the end of the twelfth century had an interesting seal, of the large dimensions of about three and three-quarter inches. Here are seen the hauberk of mail with continuous coif, the surcoat, conical helmet with nose-piece, a long convex shield, and a long lance with flag and streamers. The wyvern sometimes appears on equestrian seals, but its symbolism is difficult to interpret, unless there is an allusion to the prowess of St. George, who is generally riding on a horse when depicted as in combat with the dragon, which often partakes of the wyvern's form. Henry the Chamberlain, a Lincolnshire magnate of the period of Henry III., had a gem seal with a handle, on which was engraved a figure of Nike or Victory, with trophies.

The Earls of Chester had very fine seals, some with gem counterseals. There is one counterseal of an antique intaglio on which is engraved a combat between two nude athletes; another bears a Gnostic *gryllus* or nondescript figure, with hidden religious meaning; a third shows a *gryllus* of two human faces, conjoined, for Silenus and Mercury, or possibly Janus. The Clares, Zouche, Despensers, and other families which held the lordship of Glamorgan, also had a good series of equestrian seals, with or without heraldry, according to the period of their use. Sometimes an ornamental flower, a rosette, a fleur-de-lis, stars, crosses, or other details were

added to the side on which the horseman was engraved, or a background hatched, lozengy, or reticulated was preferred, and to this network design a small pierced quatrefoil or cinquefoil was added in fourteenth-century equestrian obverses. The shields of arms which are frequently given on reverses may be either unaccompanied with designs or they are slung by the strap or *enarme* either from a hook, or an elegantly drawn tree of three branches in the foliage of which we may occasionally discern a bird. These again, particularly in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, are set in carved panels or rosaces with semicircular or segmental cusps, enriched with carved spandrels and ball-flowers along the edging. The ample housing or caparison of the horse, covering the whole body except the nose and feet, is well exhibited in the seal of Maurice, son of Robert of Totham, in Essex, in the latter half of the twelfth century.

One of the finest equestrian seals is that of Robert Fitz-Walter, a matrix preserved in the British Museum, about two and three-quarter inches in diameter. This is of the early part of the twelfth century, and shows the rider clad in his hauberk and chausses of mail, continuous coif, surcoat, and helmet with flat-top vizor closed, and armed with sword and shield of the arms of Fitz-Walter. In the field before the horse is another shield, bearing the seven mascles of the De Quincy family, below the horse is the wyvern reguardant, with a flowing tail. Gerard de Furnival, of co. Herts, in the time of Edward I., had a seal of very fine workmanship showing the equestrian style of the period at its best, with armour, caparison, and heraldry, the reverse bearing the impression of a gem engraved with the bust of a deity or goddess. The barons and noblesse of England were evidently as fond of ancient classical gems of good style as we have already shown the dignitaries of the church and the monastery to have been. Philip de Kyme, of co. Lincoln, at the close of the thirteenth century, used a fine style of equestrian seal with heraldry, and Simon

HUGH LE DESPENSER, 1338

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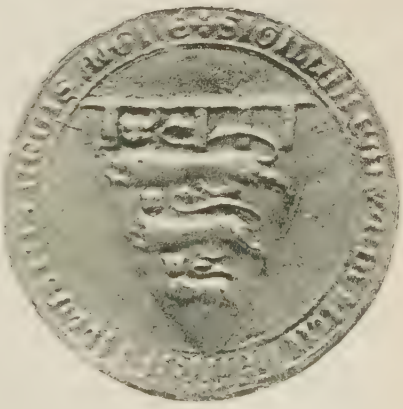

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EARLY ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH EQUESTRIAN AND HERALDIC SEALS

de Kyme, of the early part of the same epoch, like many others, appended his seal to a Charter in the British Museum by a closely woven cord of twilled threads striped with various colours. The bobbins, ribbons, damasked and diapered stuffs and other specimens of the handloom which serve to fasten the seals to the deeds deserve a special descriptive treatment, and their examination would well repay the student of ancient tapestry and weaving arts, so truly illustrated by these relics which are almost always forgotten or passed over without the study which they so well deserve. It is curious to observe that these fragile stuffs have been preserved without injury for so many centuries. The reverse of Simon de Kyme's seal bears the bust of Pallas Athene, helmeted, from an ancient engraved gem.

The Lacy family used finely designed seals, befitting so powerful a baronial house. Robert Marmium also had a counterseal impressed with an antique gem bearing an effigy of Fortune, seated, holding a helmeted figure of Nike or Victory, at her feet a shield. This gem appears to have been cracked when the impression was made seven hundred years ago, but it was highly prized for all that, and the seal impression bears witness to this to-day. Roger de Molbrai or Mowbray, of the counties of York and Lincoln, in the twelfth century had a very fine equestrian seal; over the mail shirt is a surcoat with adornments of a fleury, vairy, or crusily pattern, intended for leather, a cap-shaped helmet with nose-piece, goad-spur, sword and scabbard, a long maunch hanging from the wrist after the ridiculous fashion of the age, and surely cumbrous and likely to hamper the rapid sword-play requisite in a mortal combat between warrior horsemen such as formed the shock of battle in those days. All this peculiar ornamentation is plainly visible in some of the examples of this seal. The Montforts, Earls of Leicester, used very beautiful seals, and those of Ralph de Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester, Hertford, and Athol, John de Mowbray,

lord of the island of Haxiholme, co. Lincoln, and of the honours of Brember and Gower, were remarkable: that of the last-named measured about four inches in diameter, and had an elaborate reverse comprising armorial bearings, a feathered serpent or cockatrice volant, a wyvern reguardant, and half-length men-at-arms holding armorial lance-flags, upon a background diapered lozengy with a small flower in each interstice. The Neville family were rich in seals, so also were the Percys; and the royal house generally called by historians the Family of Plantagenet,—a name which is never adopted by the members of the house, nor attributed to them by the old chroniclers and historians—naturally supply many very beautiful specimens of the equestrian type of seal, some, as for example John, Count of Mortaigne, afterwards King John, enhancing the interest of the seal with a gem counterseal; others, as for instance Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, 1295-1321, preferring the elaborately carved Gothic cusped rosette with varied tracery of the richest description in which to set their armorial bearings on the reverse of equestrian seals, or to suspend a shield of arms from a tree of three branches between wyverns or other supporters. Thomas of Woodstock, a scion of this royal family, Duke of Gloucester, Earl of Essex and Buckingham, and Lord High Constable of England, 1385-1397, has left us a magnificent design on his seal of the diameter of three and a half inches. Here the noble horseman is in armour, with a coat of arms, helmet, lambrequin or floral ornamental pendant, and crest (consisting of a chapeau turned up ermine sustaining a lion statant guardant, collared and crowned, the tail lowered), and his sword chained to his body, and his own special shield of arms of France Ancient and England, quarterly, with a bordure, all set in a field diapered in a lozengy reticulation enriched with an ostrich feather or a swan in each interstice. Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland, 1219-1264, appears on the obverse of his equestrian seal, a wyvern below the

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EARLY PERSONAGES

horse, on the reverse the earl is in armour with the wyvern on his helmet for a crest, standing up in combat against a lion springing upon his shield.

Simon de St. Liz, second Earl of Northampton, a very powerful baron who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, possessed a seal worthy of consideration for the long maunch attached to the right wrist of the horseman, the long convex shield with lozengy ornament, and the horse with very ample caparisons reaching to the ground. The third earl, of the same name, about 1160, bears on his equestrian effigy a long maunch reaching to the ground, a fashion which to-day seems an incongruous adjunct to a military uniform. Tomas, the third Baron de St. Walerico, of co. Oxon, in the time of King John, affords us another excellent example of the flat bobbin of woven threads of various colours used in the appending of his seal to a charter preserved in the British Museum. Jordan de Saungville of Helmingham, in Suffolk, about 1300, gives a specimen of the hollow bobbin woven in now faded colours. These two specimens, at widely different dates, illustrate a favourite practice, and should attract those whose research leads them to study ancient loomwork. Hugh, son of Hugh de Scotegni, of Lincolnshire, in 1140, used a bobbin of closely woven green stuff which is an admirable example of this method. In a later age, the equestrian seal of the powerful and illustrious Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and Duke of Bedford, who died in 1495, deserves notice. The fashions for plate armour and elaborate heraldry are here manifested, and the background of the obverse is replenished with wavy branches of flowering plants. The reverse shows on a mount an angel with open wings holding a shield of Jasper's special royal arms supported by two wolves sejant, ducally gorged, tethered by a staple to the mount. His seal as Duke of Bedford and Lord of Bergevenny has a variation in the quarter containing the bearings of France Modern: the fleurs-de-lis are set one and two, instead of

two and one, the supporters are a dragon with two tongues, and a wolf, and the field is replenished with pease-cods tied together in triplets. Many other notable baronial and noble personages used equestrian seals which show a very high standard of art for the beauty and intricacy of their design, and the excellent technique of their execution, but want of space prevents our mentioning any other specimens of this style of seal.

The noble ladies of our land were not behind the barons and nobility in their use of the well-designed and richly adorned seal suited to their rank and degree. They are generally delineated as standing, draped in the costume of the Court that was current at the period, decked with jewels, and holding a flower, a shield of arms, or a hawk. Sometimes they are accompanied with a lapdog or *brachet*, at others they are beneath a carved arch or canopy of Gothic architecture. The background of some of the seals of this class is arabesqued with scroll-work of flowers and foliage. The dress comprises the tightly fitting vestment, with long sleeves or maunches, often of very ample length, reaching nearly to the ground, the flowing cloak or mantle with fur lining, and occasionally a head-dress. The dimensions of these seals, which are generally pointed oval, are about two inches by one and a half. One of the most remarkable seals of ladies is that of Ela Basset, daughter of William Longespee, Countess of Warwick, widow of the Earl Thomas de Newburgh, and wife of Philip Basset. She died about 1297. Her seal is of pointed oval form, and it bears her effigy in a close-fitting dress with a mantle, in her left hand a shield of the paternal arms. She stands on a carved platform, beneath a fine canopy like a church with central tower and transepts. In the field is a shield of arms for the Earldom of Warwick. The reverse bears the armorials of Basset, set in a circular panel of rich carving between two lioncels derived from the Longespee arms. The early seals of Maria, daughter of Laurence of Rouen, of Southwark, and of Liece, daughter of Ralph of Rouen

EQUESTRIAN SEALS AND SEALS OF NOBLE LADIES

and Maria above mentioned, the former among the Cotton Charters, the latter among the Harley Charters in the British Museum, show the costume of the twelfth century very clearly. The maunch on the sleeve, jewelled brooch at the neck, necklace, hair-ribbon, and fleur-de-lis in hand, make up the costume of the noble lady of that period. The seal of Hawisia, Lady of Keveoloc in Wales, in the fourteenth century, also of pointed oval shape, delineates the owner standing on a corbel, wearing a flat head-dress with her hair in a network, a wimple, girdled dress and long mantle, a jewelled necklace, and in each hand a shield of arms. Margaret de Lacy, Countess of Lincoln and Pembroke, daughter of Robert de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, after 1245; Alice de Lacy, Countess of Lincoln in 1310; Ela, Countess of Salisbury, after 1226; Emelina Longespeie, Countess of Ulster, 1250; Margaret de Quincy, Countess of Winchester, about 1220; Maria de St. Pol, Countess of Pembroke, before 1347; and Agnes de Vescy, who died in 1216, all have remarkably fine personal seals with effigies, heraldry, and various architectural and ornamental devices befitting such exalted personages. The counterseal of the Countess Emelina above mentioned bears a shield of her arms between two swords and a lion over it, with the Norman-French motto:

'FOL · EST · KI · ME · BRISERA · FOR' · CELI · A · KI · LA · LETTRE · VA.'

Rarely a lady of high degree has an equestrian seal. Ladies of inferior rank to those mentioned were content with seals of less imposing dimensions, and with less elaborate personal representation.

CHAPTER IX

ENGLISH HERALDIC SEALS

THE heraldic seals of England are exceedingly numerous, and every century has contributed fine specimens of this class to our museums and collections. This work, however, is not a history of heraldry, and therefore any special notice of the armorial bearings borne by the several respective owners of the seals would be out of place. Here we are to take cognisance of the distinctive characteristics of heraldic seals exhibited at different periods, their ornamentation, their shapes, and their peculiarities. Among the earliest must be mentioned that of William de Filgeriis, about two and a half inches in diameter, appended to a deed by a woven cord of various colours. The shield has a very early shape, sometimes called 'heater-shaped,' or 'pip-shaped.' In the field on each side of the shield is a wavy star of seven rays. Almaric D'Evereux, fourth Earl of Gloucester, who died about 1226, had a seal bearing a shield of somewhat similar form to the foregoing, but wider in proportion to its length. Simon Dedene, or De Dene, in the twelfth century, had a long narrow shield like an inverted isosceles triangle. Margery de Crek, of co. Suffolk, used on her seal a large shield of early form, with curiously archaic heraldry, which may be blazoned as quarterly an orle of twelve roundles, over all a bend (which covers up two of the roundles). Richard, Earl of Cornwall, Count of Poictou, and second son of King John, afterwards King of the Romans, 1209-1272, had a very beautiful counterseal of arms to his equestrian seal. Here, on a background of

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EARLY ENGLISH HERALDRY, ETC.

ENGLISH HERALDIC SEALS

elegant foliage forming a symmetrical tree of three branches bearing clusters of fruit, is set a shield of the arms of Poictou (a lion rampant crowned) within a bordure *bezantée* for the ancient Duchy of Cornwall, the whole armorial design being a charming specimen of the early herald's art combined with the best work of the seal-designer. William de Cantelupe, Steward of the Royal Household in the early days of King Henry III., also had a fine seal with a shield of early shape, between a star with a crescent above it on the left-hand side, and a crescent enclosing a star on the right-hand side.

Robert de Ferrars, eighth Earl of Derby, 1254-1278, had a very fine counterseal of arms for his equestrian seal. The armorials are: vairy, in fourteen rows or tracts, for Ferrers, and the shield is suspended by a strap from an elegantly designed tree of conventional symmetry, and placed between two finely drawn wavy branches of foliage and flowers. The Countess Alice de St. Liz, wife of Simon, third Earl of Northampton, about 1160, had a pointed oval seal with armorials chevronelly, not on a shield; similarly Rohesia, Countess of Lincoln, had a pointed oval seal with chevronelly armorials, early in the thirteenth century. These two seals are somewhat alike. In later seals we observe the gradual approach in the shaping of the shield to modern proportions, the introduction of more intricate heraldry, and an improvement in the drawing of the charges and in the proportional dimensions of the charges. The fourteenth century is principally noteworthy for the ingenuity of the heraldic designer, who places the shield in elaborately carved panels and compartments of interlacing tracery, the curves and cusps of which are as finely measured as a Gothic window in a cathedral, and fills up the spaces between the curves of the framework and the shield with small adjuncts of armorial origin, frequently to be referred to arms of other branches of the family of the owner. Not infrequently a shield-shaped seal is used, and proves to be very convenient for containing the

shield of arms itself. Pointed oval seals, with more or less acute angles at the meeting of the segments at top and bottom, give an excellent scope for introducing a tree of three branches, from which the shield of arms is slung by the *guige* or strap attached to the interior side for convenience in holding it before the person in battle.

There are seals where a cinquefoil or rose of five leaves, with a central roundle, enables the designer to introduce no less than six coats of arms into his work, as that, for example, of Nicholas Malemayns, of co. Lincoln, 1315. The enclosing rosette of tracery sometimes has openings which are filled with armorial bearings, as in the seal of Emma, wife of Sir John de Oddyngseles, 1328, where impaled bearings for the *baron* and *feme* are placed within a carved rosette of eight cusps, ornamented along the edge with ball-flowers, and enclosed in turn in an elaborate device of four points in cross, having four circular countersunk panels, cusped in six points, between them, each of which contains a circular shield of arms. The sloping of the shield towards the left-hand side, which is then termed *couché*, appears in this century, and enables the designer to obtain more space for the helmet, mantling, and crest, which at this period was coming into general use. A free and copious replenishment of field or background with arabesque foliage is also found at this time. Another style is that of suspending the shield from a forked tree, which runs up into the part generally reserved for the legend. Sometimes the shield is accompanied with small designs which foreshadow the supporter, and occasionally a helmet on each side of the shield enables two crests to be exhibited. The seal of Sir Matthew de Gournay, of co. Wilts, 1390, is exceedingly beautiful for its simplicity and perfect symmetry; it comprises a shield of arms, *couché*, and the crest of a blackamoor's head, crowned, on a helmet and mantling or lambrequin, between two oak-trees, each on a mount with herbage. Later seals, larger and more pretentious, appear in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,

MODERN HERALDIC SEALS

PLATE XXII

MODERN HERALDIC SEALS

MODERN HERALDIC SEALS

PLATE XXVIII

but the rise of the armorial signet in this period contracted the size, and led to the decadence of the armorial seal so far as beauty of design is concerned. The crowding of numerous quarterings of family coats into a small space became the fashion, to the detriment of the artistic *ensemble* of the design. The character of armorial seals underwent a great change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as will be seen from the plates attached to this work to illustrate this branch of the seal art, wherein some very fine examples of recent seals have been selected, but whether they are as beautiful as those of earlier centuries or not, must be left to the reader to determine. The proportion of the shield to the area of the surface for yielding the impression, the relative symmetry of the heraldic charges to the size of the shield, the subordination of crest and supporters to the central design, are all nowadays objects of the first consideration, and in many cases the result is very gratifying. Some good examples of heraldic seals will be found in the plates, which speak for themselves far more eloquently than any verbal description would. The ornamental designs with which the shields of arms are accompanied might be copied with advantage even at the present day.

CHAPTER X

COLONIAL AND COMPANY SEALS

GREAT BRITAIN, having numerous dependencies in many parts of the world, would naturally have many seals relating to these provinces and districts over which she holds sway. The early rise of the Company, or Society, of merchants and traders, which appears to have commenced about the time of Queen Elizabeth, and was quickly imitated and followed in other European countries, also produced numerous seals for this class of institution. Among others we have the heraldic seal of the 'Fellowship of the Merchant Adventurers of England,' used in 1557. The shield of arms, which by the charges of barry nebuly, the lion and the roses, sufficiently symbolises the maritime superiority of the English nation, is accompanied with the text:

'REDDITE · CUIQUE · QUOD · SUUM · EST.'

In 1579, the Corporation seal of the 'Company of Merchants trading to Spain and Portugal' used a very elaborate symbolical design in form of heraldry. The old East India Company also had a shield of arms pointing to the royal arms of Great Britain in the seventeenth century, with mottoes and inscription: 'DEUS · INDICAT'; 'DEO DUCENTE'; and

'NON · MINOR · EST · VIRTUS · QUAM · QUÆRERE · PARTA · TUERI.'

The 'Royal African Company' of 1672 had an armorial seal, the shield crested with an anchor between dragon's

wings and supported by two African blackamoors. The heraldic seals of Queen Victoria for Gibraltar, Malta, Ceylon, Hong Kong, the Cape, Gambia, Victoria, Sierra Leone, Mauritius, St. Helena, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, the Bermudas, Barbadoes, Antigua, Montserrat, St. Christopher, Nevis, Dominica, the Virgin Islands, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad, Tobago, Guiana, the Falklands, New South Wales, New Zealand, Western Australia, and Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania, are all very much alike in their general character (which is not of the finest style), with the names of the several Colonies altered to suit the localities, and occasional mottoes.

The late Queen's seal for the Dominion of Canada is in some respects suggested by the type of a great seal, as the sovereign is delineated in majesty enthroned. The Queen's seal for the Province of Canada is allegorical and heraldic, accompanied with somewhat hackneyed quotations from the *Odes* of Horace. Among earlier seals of this class may be mentioned George II.'s seals for the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, the designs of which are heraldic and the style medallic, showing the sovereign receiving the homage of the aborigines, with appropriate mottoes; George III.'s seal for the Province of Quebec, where the king points his sceptre to a map of Canada hung up before him; George I.'s seal for the Barbadoes and Caribbee Islands, where the sovereign rides in a shell-shaped chariot drawn by seahorses over the sea, with a badly adapted legend:

'ET · PENITUS · TOTO · *REGNANTES* · ORBE · BRITANNOS,'

derived from Virgil's *Eclogue*, i. 67, where the fourth word is *divisos*. This is a design made by the celebrated Simon for Charles II.'s Commissioners at the Admiralty Office according to Vertue, who described the works of that medallist and seal-engraver. George III.'s seal for Barbadoes resembles in a general way the preceding seal

but it differs materially in design; the shell-shaped chariot is furnished with a paddle-wheel of six blades, and drawn by two seahorses. The legend is the same as that mentioned.

Charles II.'s seal for Jamaica, used in 1672, shows the king in majesty, enthroned, receiving from a kneeling native chief clad and crested with feathers, a dish of pineapples in token of homage. The legend reads :

'DURO · DE · CORTICE · FRUCTUS ·
QUAM · DULCES.'

The reverse is armorial, and consists of a shield of new-fangled arms for the Island of Jamaica, viz. on a cross five pineapples; crest on a helmet an alligator on a mound; supporters an Indian man with a feather head-dress and skirt, holding a bow, and an Indian woman with a dish of pines. The legends on two scrolls are :

'INDUS · UTERQUE · SERVIET · UNI,'

and

'ECCE · ALIUM · PORREXIT · IN · ORBEM
NEC · STERILIS · CRUX · EST.'

This also emanates from the medallic and classic fancies of the great Thomas Simon, who revolutionised the seal into a medal by the introduction of allegorical figures and designs resembling those found on antique numismatics, where architecture and tracery had been paramount up to his period. George III.'s seal for this island is not very unlike the preceding, and bears a similar scene of native homage with the inscription 'DURO,' etc., as before. This king's seal for the Leeward Islands delineates a medallic allegory of a shell-shaped chariot on the waves, with the sovereign clad in royal robes, crowned and collared with the Garter, standing therein. He holds a trident and guides with rein two seahorses. At the side is a Triton blowing a trumpet shell.

CHAPTER XI

MISCELLANEOUS DESIGNS AND DEVICES OF ENGLISH SEALS

THE last class of English seals which claims our attention is that of the miscellaneous designs and devices which were used by persons of sufficient position and standing to entitle them to the use of a seal, but yet not bearing arms or possessing an official dignity which would give them the use of a seal of office. Such persons were, at the earliest times, land-owners of small means, occupiers or feoffees of property which they were transferring, selling, or granting away from time to time and executing legal documents, the ratification of which required an impression of the owner's seal. In the eleventh century, which was almost an initial period for the popular use of the seal, the devices on seals of this class were very simple, the wax on which the impressions were made was light, flaky, and friable, often found appended to ancient deeds in a very fragmentary condition. The colours were green, dull pale grey, pale creamy yellow, and a dull dark red. The mass of wax was pressed upon a narrow label of parchment, or a bunch of silken strands passed through a fold of the vellum made at the foot of the document just below the writing. Sometimes a bobbin or cord, either flat or round, was used for this purpose. This method had superseded the still more ancient method of sealing *en placard* by placing a lump of wax upon the surface of the deed, which was cut and turned back to prevent the wax from becoming detached. The size of the seal varied from about three-quarters of an inch to sometimes as much as

two inches or even a greater diameter, and the mass of wax was in some cases very bulky. The designs used in this century are not very numerous; among them are animals, such as the lion, wolf, stag, ox, or bear; birds, chiefly hawks, falcons, and a bird which has been variously conjectured to be a dove or a crow; fishes; flowers, among which the lily and the rose or rosette predominate; quatrefoils, cinquefoils, the fleur-de-lis or conventional lily, sometimes elaborately augmented with extra sprigs, stars of different form, crescents, and suchlike objects.

In the twelfth century the use of the seal was becoming more general, and the designs are more varied and have more detail bestowed on their drawing; the human body, the bust in profile, the arm and hand, parts of dress, weapons, crescents enclosing estoiles which some consider to symbolise Christianity triumphant over paganism, while others see in the combination an allusion to the Virgin Mary and the Saviour; roses and rosettes sometimes *en soleil*, that is, facing full towards the view, at other times slipped, that is having a slip or stalk, and leaved; fleurs-de-lis of much beauty both of design and proportion; animals, among which were the wyvern, a fanciful creature somewhat resembling a dragon or lizard, often with a knotted or nowed tail, sometimes with the tail floreated; figures of saints with their emblems, divine personages, and busts. The thirteenth century was very richly provided with seals of this class, and the documents which deal with the property of land become very numerous at this time. The seals are better made and indicate a considerable improvement on what had gone before. It may be that in some cases a seal was made for one single occasion only, to corroborate, for example, a grant of a small piece of land possessed by a humble freeholder (under a chief lord of the fee), who was conveying his land, once and for all, to a monastery or other public corporate body in return for some valuable recompense such as admission into the convent and a stipulation for burial within the sacred precincts of the

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EARLY ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH DEVICES

EARLY ENGLISH DEVICES

institution or for a corrody or allowance for sustentation. In such a case, as the presence of a seal was a legal necessity, the monks or corporation took care to provide the grantor with the matrix of a seal which would probably be made of lead, with little pains and expense. Under any circumstances, the events would be very few indeed which would require the formal use of a seal by the peasant proprietor of a few acres.

This century was rich in the variety of the designs of seals. The pentacle, or five-pointed star, of Solomon, valued for its magic powers and mystic virtues; the star enclosed by a crescent; weapons; animals; flowers in conventional patterns; stars of elaborate radiance; birds, including the favourite 'pelican in the wilderness,' a type of our Lord, the eagle preying on a fowl; lions in several attitudes, and some of them, such as those on the seal of William, Earl of Gloucester, at an earlier period, and the lion dormant, very finely conceived; wyverns; cockatrices; boars; banner-flags; the *fede*, or two hands clasped in saltire, a symbol of the pledging of faith or troth; the head of St. John Baptist in a dish with legend 'CAPUT · JOHANNIS · IN · DISCO,' abound on documents of this and other times. The legends usually give the name of the owner, but in some cases a motto is given, such as 'JESUS · EST · AMOR · MEUS,' 'LOUE · ME · AND · I · THEE,' 'WAKE · ME · NO · MAN,' and 'ICI · GIT · LE · LION · FORT,' or 'ICI · DORT · LE · LIUN · FORT,' 'PRIVE SU,' 'CREDE FERENTI,' 'FRANGE · LEGE · TEGE,' 'FRACTA · LEGE · LECTA · TEGE.' The flower of love or quatrefoil, with 'SIGILLUM · AMORIS,' or 'JE SU SEL DE AMUR LEL,' and many others might be gathered from any large collection of ancient documents. The fourteenth century has left us many similar designs, and the great increase in the number of legal documents of various kinds gave rise to the use of numerous devices, monograms, fanciful subjects, and figures of natural objects. The art of the seal-engraver became now more precise, the method of cutting seals was greatly improved, and almost every one of any standing

was the proud possessor of a personal seal. Some of these contain a great deal within a small space, and the letters of mottoes and legends could be reproduced in a very minute size. The circular or ogival form which belonged to earlier times ceased to be the only shapes, and seals and signets of various shapes, such as hexagons, lozenges, rectangles, shield-shapes, and squares became fashionable. Sometimes a sly vein of humour entered into the design, as for example when the design is an ape holding a mirror and riding on an ass, in derision of the ancient design of the noble lady with hawk on her wrist riding a palfrey. The legend then would be

'HERE · IS · NO · LASS · BUT · APE · OWL · GLASS.'

A hare or rabbit is generally accompanied with the huntsman's cry of 'SOHOU · ROBIN.' The lion dormant on a rose has the legend

'ICI · DORT · LE · LIUN · SUR · LE · ROSE.'

A crowing cock says 'COCK · CROW · ME · DAI.' Gothic tracery is freely used in some of these private seals, where the device is set in the middle of very elaborate rosettes and cusped panels elegantly ornamented with openings like church windows. Animals of the forest and the farm, and those which exist only in the vivid imagination of bewildered heralds, frequently occur, also weapons, natural objects, and utensils; and in fact there is scarcely a single class of objects which is not represented on seals of the middle ages. In the fifteenth century the universal use of seals seems to have reached its culminating point of artistic and antiquarian interest. Crowned initial letters, either single or in pairs, were much liked, badges, merchant's-marks, rebuses on the surnames of the owners, saints or emblems of saints, scenes from the life of Christ, busts of divine persons, and a vast variety of miscellan-

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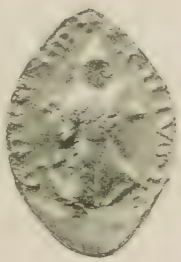

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EARLY MISCELLANEOUS SEALS

eous objects, offered a wide field to the tastes of the owners. In the sixteenth century the imitation of classical styles began to prevail, and some of the portrait busts engraved on small seals or signets are executed in the best manner, but the general tendency of the art was downwards, and the use of the seal was gradually becoming merely formal among the masses. Armorial seals, of course, still held their sway of importance, and it may be said, in part, that they do still retain some value and significance with the better classes, but the popular use of the seal, whether for documentary or epistolary purposes, has now practically ceased to exist. The reduction of the personal seal, used to corroborate a deed, to a small circular piece of red paper, such as is found on every legal deed, has delivered a death-blow to the erstwhile carrying and using of a private and peculiar seal. But as relics, the personal seals of our ancestors are treasured with love and veneration, and there is scarcely a family which does not possess several of these links with the past, cherished among its most valued jewels and heirlooms.

CHAPTER XII

ROYAL SEALS OF SCOTLAND

THE Great Seals of the Scottish Kings exhibit for the most part a very fine degree of native art, and the attainments of the seal-designers and engravers were of an eminently beautiful kind. Rugged and archaic at the beginning of the series in the eleventh century, the seals soon began to develop all the details of design and technique which they afterwards possessed in no slight degree. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were the best periods, and naturally the specimens made during these eras reflected a considerable amount of foreign influence, due, without doubt, to more advanced proficiency on the part of the workmen, and to a more intimate intercourse with England and France than the country had hitherto enjoyed; due also to the improved taste which was current among the more enlightened Scots, who nevertheless clung to native styles, and if the two centuries spoken of saw foreign influences, the work of later centuries demonstrates that Scottish art was by no means a defunct factor with the designer and producer of the king's seals. We shall see, as this chapter progresses, the gradual change from archaism to elegance, from simplicity to complexity, from disproportion to balance and harmony of *ensemble*, and from attractive charm eventually to tastelessness and want of appreciation of rules which had rendered these creations so interesting. All manner of arts are represented in turn on these seals; the Historian, the Armourer, the Marshal, the Herald, the Architect, the Portrait Limner, the Ecclesiologist, the Expounder of sacred and

legendary symbolism, and the Militarist, have all set their marks on the details of Scottish royal seals, and we shall point out some of the leading characteristics of their achievements.

King Duncan II. leads off the long roll of Great Seals with a very primitive and archaic design of moderate diameter, a little over two inches. An impression of this rare relic is preserved among the large collection of Scottish Charters in the possession of the Durham Cathedral authorities. Here the king is riding on his war-charger, and dressed in armour which includes the shirt of mail, or hauberk, and the conical helmet with a projecting piece to protect the nose, and called the *nasale*. He holds a flag fixed on a lance by way of a standard with the right hand, and with the left the strap or *enarme* of an early kite-shaped shield, on which, owing to its position, no heraldic design could or would be seen. The horse has not much ornamental harness beyond the *poytrail* or pectoral band. Donald Bane, his uncle and betrayer, does not appear to have left any impression of his seal, but he sat on the throne for a very brief period, being deposed by his nephew Eadgar and deprived of eyesight, a not uncommon barbarity practised in the early middle ages with a view to rendering the victim helpless and harmless. Eadgar, the successor, had a seal, an impression of which is still preserved at Durham. The diameter is slightly larger than that of Duncan's seal, and the design is changed from the equestrian type to the type of majesty. The king, attired in simple vestments of royalty, is seated on a throne, the legs of which resemble the talons of an eagle. His crown is not clearly defined, but the cross on the top is visible. He holds a sword, indicative of intent to defend his kingdom, and a sceptre to mark his rule over the people. The legend,

'IMAGO · EADGARI · SCOTTORUM · BASILEI,'

reminds us of the legend on the seal of Edward Confessor,

King of England, who in similar manner used the title of *Basileus*, or Emperor, in preference to *Rex*, or King.

Maud, sister of this king, became the consort of King Henry I. of England, in 1200, and her seal, which is still extant, is of the pointed oval form usually adopted by ladies in these ages, showing a standing effigy of the Queen, wearing a costume of remarkable appearance, being furnished with long maunches or sleeves, and other details of court attire worthy the attention of the student of mediæval dress. This lady holds a sceptre surmounted by a dove in the one hand, and in the other a mound or orb, which symbolises her exalted rank. King Alexander I., who sat on the throne from 1107 to 1124, introduced a new type of Great Seal, which has endured in the main features of its design to the present time: on this, the side of majesty and the side of baronial and military leadership are ever present, and although the fashions of armour and dress, of harness and caparison, of shield and sword, of thrones and robes and other adjuncts, vary from age to age, yet the two ideas of the royal headship and the leadership in war obtain without interruption for nearly eight hundred years. On King Alexander's seal, which is no exception to this principle, the sovereign, clad in a hauberk of mail fortified with metal rings, a tunic, and leggings, conical helmet and coif, holds in the right hand a gonfanon with three streamers, possibly, as some think, charged with a representation of the patron saint of Scotland, Andrew, standing in front of his saltire cross. If this is so (and the impression of the seal leaves much room for doubt), the late Mr. Wyon deserves much credit for having discerned it from so indistinct a seal. The king holds in his left hand a kite-shaped shield, but here again the inner side is turned to view, and if there were any armorial bearings in use by this king, the side of the shield where they would be delineated is turned away. The horse's furniture comprises the *pectorale* or breast-band, certain headstraps, and a kind of *nasale* or

projecting piece for protection of the forehead and nose. The reverse illustrates the king as a ruler, enthroned in his majesty, with crown, tunic, mantle with border of studs or bosses, a broadsword, and a mound or orb, furnished with a long cross, as usually attributed to the effigies of Christian rulers, the cross over the orb signifying a promise of maintenance of the Christian religion in the realm over which the king has been called to preside. The field on each side appears to be ornamented with the introduction of a *plaque*, on which, as far as the indistinct character of the impression allows us to judge, there appears to be a rosette, or flower. Alexander's style declares him to be *Deo Rectore rex Scottorum*, and this formula was adopted by some of his immediate successors. David I., who follows along the royal roll of the rulers of the realm, was the youngest son of Malcolm III. and his consort St. Margaret, daughter of Eadweard the Ætheling, of England's royal race. It is recorded that he spent his younger days in the court of King Henry I. of England, his brother-in-law, and the royal spouse Maud already mentioned. The seal of this Scottish king is known only by an engraving by Anderson in his valuable collection of Scottish *diplomata* or state documents, and there is a very imperfect impression preserved among the charters in the British Museum. From what can be deciphered, the design is evidently similar to that used by King Alexander; indeed it may be that the seal of that king was merely altered as to its legend in order to suit the need of the new king. To David I. succeeded Malcolm IV., a youth of such simple and effeminate mien as to earn the nickname of the 'Maiden.' Fragments only remain to us of the seal, preserved among the Panmure Charters, which this king used, and the legend cannot be deciphered with certainty.

King William the Lion, who followed Malcolm, inaugurated a new epoch, both in the political and the art history of his kingdom. His invasion of England; his capture, followed by the Convention of

Falaise, whereby he surrendered independence to the English sovereign; his restoration by Richard I. in 1189; and his long reign of forty-nine years, terminated by death at Stirling in 1214, render him a memorable figure among the 'multitudinous puppets of a dream' of northern kings. This period exhibits a very clear improvement in the conception of harmony by the seal-engraver, who was borne along the stream of rapid advance in scientific and imaginative knowledge.

The seal now transcends what had gone before: archaic and old-fashioned stiffness; want of proportion; absence of life and feeling, give way to the delicacy which is overspreading human perception, and the result is very beautiful. If we look at the designs on the seals of previous monarchs and then on those of William the Lion, we cannot fail to observe how great a gulf there is between them. It is not claimed that those latter are faultless; later efforts of the designer improved vastly on these in turn, but the life has stirred, and the spirit is moving that was to become stronger and firmer as the ages passed. On the one side we see the king, as military leader, in armour *cap-à-pie*, and carrying a long lance-flag with three pennons, the convex shield furnished with the central spike which seems to be a relic of prehistoric times; on the other side he sits in majesty, a tall and graceful figure, draped in the simple yet royal attire of the period, and wearing a cap-like crown. The sword of might and power, the mound or orb of divine right and divine guidance, are in his hands. The throne is elegant in its form, sloping to the top, and there is a dais or platform at the base. To him followed his only son Alexander II., notable as being the first Scottish king who used armorial bearings on his seal. The equestrian figure on the one side wears the long surcoat, a flat-topped helmet with vizor in place of the conical cap, or helmet with projecting nose-piece, and a convex shield bearing a lion rampant; but it is uncertain whether this charge is accompanied with the tressure or

double tressure which later forms so enduring a component of the royal arms of the realm. The harness and trappings of the horse also exhibit an improvement on the corresponding details of previous seals, and the saddle-cloth bears the same heraldry as the king's shield, but of course turned to the sinister, or right hand, in conformity to the rule which governs the heraldic delineation of horse caparisons. The other side of this seal shows the king in royal state of majesty, with sword and orb, crowned and enthroned on a seat of carved work. At the extremities of the throne on each side is a tree of handsome design, probably symbolical of the knighting of the king by his royal neighbour, King John of England, a member of the so-called Plantagenet family, in 1212. Many impressions of this fine seal are preserved in the British Museum, Durham Chapter Muniments, and Scottish Charter-chests.

Alexander III., son of the preceding king, succeeded to his father's throne in 1249, and occupied it until his death in 1286. Two seals are found to have been employed in the Chancery of this sovereign. They exhibit much the same ideas as the seals which they superseded, but the diameter is slightly greater, and the details better conceived and executed. The shield appears to be charged with the lion rampant within a 'double tressure flory counterflory,' which has been borne from that day to this without a break except during the period of the Republic or Commonwealth, when the lion and tressure gave place, for a short time, to the saltire cross of St. Andrew. The throne here is of attractive design, and has indication of the beginnings of Gothic taste, in the small quatrefoiled panels enclosing each a leopard's face. The second seal of Alexander III. greatly differs from the first. Much more life and spirit are exhibited in it; art appears to have sprung into a charmed existence, full of the proofs of progress; the old archaic style and the stiffness and inanimate pose of the figures yields to a living impulse; we feel, on comparing the first and the second seal, how great a chasm separated

the designer of the one from the designer of the other. The armour has undergone the changes of fashion, and the helmet with flat top is enhanced with the grated vizors and the panache plume. The armorial bearings are the same, but of better proportion, and the background, or field, is replenished with small slipped, or stalked, trefoils, the earliest endeavour of the designer to fill up blank spaces in his art works. Whether this trefoil was merely a capricious ornament, or had a hidden symbolical meaning, it is hard to say. It may possibly point to this Alexander as the third of the name, or it may have been the national plant before the adoption of the thistle flower. But whatever its meaning, it certainly occurs from time to time on Scottish seals too often to deny it a significance of importance. This beautiful seal may be contrasted with the contemporary seals of the English sovereigns, and perhaps it owes its making to an English artist. On the throne side here, the most conspicuous points are the portraiture of the king; the elaborated adornment of the throne; and the two small creatures, perhaps lizards, or wyverns, beneath the feet of the sovereign, each of which has its tail terminated with a trefoil of the field, which here, as on the other side, is filled with the slipped trefoil of mysterious meaning.

Margaret, the 'Maid of Norway,' rightful heir to the throne on the death of her maternal grandfather, reigned, almost only in theory, for a very few years. She died, unmarried, in Orkney, on her way from Norway to Scotland, for her marriage to Prince Edward, son of King Edward I. of England, and she has left no impression of any seal, if, indeed, she ever had one. The untimely death of this royal lady led to many events of the highest importance in the history both of Scotland and England. Had she lived to become the consort of King Edward II., it is possible that the kingdoms of Norway and England would have become united under one sovereignty, and the destinies of Great Britain as an Insular Empire been materially altered. As it was,

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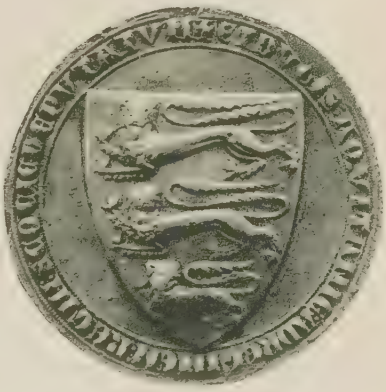

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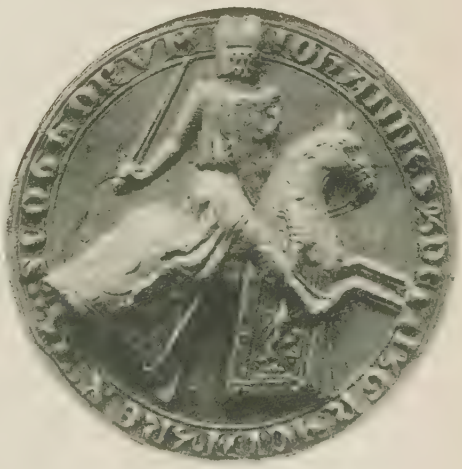

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ROYAL SEALS OF SCOTLAND

Scotland was to fall into her *First Interregnum*, distracted by disputes concerning the rightful inheritance of her crown. Thirteen claimants arose, with more or less hope of winning their cause before the arbitration of King Edward I. and the Scottish assessors at Norham in 1291, which terminated by the award in favour of John Balliol in 1292. During this period of suspense, a fine seal was made for the 'Government of the Realm,' which in beauty of design, drawing, balance, proportion, and *ensemble*, surpasses all that had gone before. The one side depicts the patron saint and protector of the country, the Apostle Andrew, with nimbus and vestments, crucified on the cross saltire, or X-shaped cross, with which the most ancient tradition associates his martyrdom. The *semé* of slipped trefoils on the field, or ground, of both sides of this seal, an ornamental detail to which attention has already been drawn, cannot have been introduced into this seal for mere unmeaning effect. It has a deep significance, and points without mistake to the recognition of the plant on the national emblem, in this respect comparing with the sprig of broom, the palm-branch, the quatrefoil, and other symbols derived from the floral world and invested with silent yet eloquent significance for those who can comprehend their real meaning. The rhyming hexameter of invocation is thoroughly in accord with the canon of the seal-engraver:

'+ ANDREA · SCOTIS · DUX · ESTO · COMPATRIOTIS.'

Charming as it is, perhaps some critics will give the preference for beauty to the other side of this epoch-making seal, where the design is purely heraldic. The proportions of the slightly curved royal shield which fills up the design are perfect, the lion is conventional, yet full of feeling and life, the tail of the creature, it will be noticed, is incurved or bent inwards towards the neck. This peculiarity belongs to the lion of Scotland, and is usually, and should be always, adhered to by those who

take on themselves to delineate (or *trick*, as heralds would say) the royal arms of this northern kingdom. It has been conjectured that this *semé* of leaves, arranged in harmonious symmetry about the saint and the shield, indicates the popular will of the nation. These peculiarities mark out the 'Regimen' seal as one of the most remarkable among the Royal Scottish series.

The selection of John Balliol to be king put an end to the Interregnum which had subsisted for upwards of two years. The new king adopted a seal, of which some impressions have been preserved. They show that progress of a very high character was taking place among the fine arts of this artistic period, the close of the thirteenth century. The armourer and the herald were well represented by the equestrian figure on the one side with crowned helmet, grated vizor, broadsword, hauberk of mail, surcoat and shield of royal arms, armorial caparisons, and other details. On the other side, that of majesty, the effigy is lifelike, but we cannot determine if it be really iconic or merely conventional; perhaps the features do, in some measure, reproduce the peculiarities of the king's portrait with his long curling hair and open countenance. The royal robes and crown, the long sceptre terminating in a beautiful arabesque foliation, the left hand of the king laid on his breast, the carving of the throne, all combine to produce a very beautiful seal, and the shields of arms introduced at each side of the throne are an innovation on what had gone before. That on the dexter side bears an orle for the Balliol family; the charge on that of the sinister is not very clear. It looks like a lion rampant, and may be intended for the royal arms, but the tressure is apparently wanting. Perhaps it is intended for his queen's paternal arms, John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, being the father of Isabel, who was married to this king. A few years further on in the stream of time, and the Battle of Dunbar, in 1296, led to the abdication of John Balliol. King Edward I. of England thereupon took the govern-

ment of the kingdom into his own hands, and issued—(after a short use of a quasi-royal seal by John Souly, the warden of the realm, made after French styles)—a very beautiful seal, not very unlike English models, one side of which gives the effigy of the king in majesty, the other has a shield of the Royal Arms of England, 'remarkably beautiful for the absolute perfection of its proportions.' The accession of Robert Bruce ensued in 1306. He used two seals. The first shows the king enthroned in majesty, and the king in his baronial or military capacity; the second, used in 1326, is slightly larger and shows the king enthroned in majesty with many elegant details and subordinate enrichments, and on the other side the king as military leader riding on a horse armorially caparisoned. There is authority for the date of the making of this seal in 1318. The national emblem, the thistle, appears among its ornamentation, for the first time, whereas the slipped trefoil, which appears to have been the national flower of earlier use, appeared on the first seal.

David II., an infant, succeeded to the throne on the death of King Robert in 1329. His seal, like some of the immediately preceding examples, indicates a French taste. The king's feet rest on two wyverns or lizard-like monsters, back to back, their tails nowed or knotted together. In the field at the side of the king's head is the royal initial letter D. Progress is very evident in the art of this seal. A forgery by the well-known John Harding has been attributed to this king. It is of inferior execution, and tells its own infamy only too clearly. The reverse bears a shield of the royal arms of the realm within a cusped panel of ten points. Robert II., the Stewart, or Steward, and first of the Stuart dynasty which ruled for nearly three hundred years, succeeded on the death of David in 1371. But notice must be here taken of the seal of Edward Balliol, crowned king by the English in 1332. He appears to have been indebted for his seal to the English school of seal-engravers rather than to the

French. Its sides indicate respectively the king in majesty, and the king in his capacity as military leader. The fan-plume which appears on this seal is to be noticed for its early appearance. This king deserted his rule over the kingdom in 1332, after a very short and doubtful enjoyment of its dignity. Robert II.'s seal is very fine and very elaborate. In general effect it resembles the later seal, the sixth, of Edward III. of England; the falcons or eagles, which support the shields of arms in side niches, have been mistaken for grotesque animals or figures, and a man-at-arms leans over the embattled cresting of the niches on each side. The king's plate-armour marks the progress of time on the reverse. The royal crest and arms should be noticed, and the whole *ensemble* compares well with contemporary English royal seals. Robert III. succeeded his father in 1390, and died in 1406. His seal, which is not very unlike that of Robert II., possessed certain additional details. The background is replenished with wavy sprigs of the vine, with its foliage and tendrils, and on the reverse, over the king's crested helmet, is set a small pierced mullet, or five-pointed star. It has been thought by some writers on Scottish seals, that the Italian style which is shown in the art of this seal is due to the fact that two Florentine engravers worked in the national mint about 1364 to 1377, or later. A smaller seal of this king is extant, where plate-armour appears to be even more fashionable than before. The designs of the sides are enclosed in cusped panels of somewhat irregular style.

The fifteenth-century royal seals of Scotland are of much interest. They begin with James I., and this monarch's seal has some resemblances to those which have gone before. The disturbed events of the time of his reign gave an opportunity for the using of a seal by Robert Stewart, first Duke of Albany, and Murdoch Stewart, second Duke, regents, but their rule and their race came to an abrupt ending under tragic and barbarous circumstances, not unusual in most European kingdoms at

the time, fully described by Sir William Fraser in his work on the Dukes of Albany. Murdoch's seal closely follows the royal contemporaneous type, but how far it corroborates the charge of usurpation of royal power would be difficult to determine now. Certainly at first sight it appears to be a close imitation of a royal seal. James II., 1437-1460, used his father's seal, but added two small annulets between the king's feet and the lions beneath the throne, and a similar number above the pinnacles at the sides of the canopy. On the reverse four annulets were placed: two at the horse's neck, two on the caparison of the hinderpart of the horse, and a small crown. These additions are also helpful in determining doubtful points in the coinage. James III., 1460-1488, uses the same Great Seal, and adds a small mullet over a pinnacle of the throne, and, on the reverse, a fleur-de-lis beneath the fetlock of the horse's right foreleg. James IV., 1488-1513, made other additions to the devices on the seal. He also used a 'quarter seal,' consisting apparently of the upper part of a seal not very unlike the Great Seal, but of inferior workmanship. James V., his son, 1513-1542, used the same Great Seal at first, probably making additions to the small marks of difference which characterise the career of the seal first put in use by James I.

His second seal, measuring four inches in diameter, is a poor copy of the first; it is interesting, however, because the slipped trefoil of older days is freshly introduced into the background of the design. Mary, his only surviving issue, succeeded, being only seven days old when her father died. She employed many seals. The Gothic style gave way to that called the Italian, and the royal arms are introduced into the reverse, with two unicorns for supporters. Thistle flowers appear among the emblems, and a Biblical sentence takes the place of the royal style. The queen's second seal is French in design, the reverse being of small dimensions. Her third seal, 1559, styles her husband Francis II. of France and herself as 'of Scotland, England and Ireland, King and Queen':

a title which gave offence to Queen Elizabeth, and may have operated disastrously on Queen Mary's fortunes.

The Great Seals of Scotland increase in diameter as time progresses, the introduction of emblematical and allegorical figures also tends to alter the character of the design, which becomes more and more medallic from this period henceforward. The queen's seal as Consort of France shows the two youthful sovereigns sitting on one seat, holding sceptres, and clad in royal robes. King and queen of the French and Scots they were certainly, but they added England and Ireland to their titles, by a fiction of the imagination. As Dowager of France, Mary used another seal, of which two impressions are extant. Its diameter is nearly four inches and a half, the design is a copy of the preceding seal, sprigs of the mysterious trefoil are introduced also here and there, and the counter-seal has the arms of France Modern and Scotland dimidiated, supported by two unicorns holding lance-flags charged with St. Andrew's cross enfiled with a crown. The motto,

'SALVUM · FAC · POPULUM · TUUM · DOMINE,'

is the same as that on the queen's first counterseal. James VI., last exclusive ruler of the Scottish realm, 1567, for his northern kingdom has an equestrian seal rich with armorial bearings, badges of the thistle, plume of ostrich feathers, and arabesque foliage. On the reverse are the royal armorials and motto, 'IN · DEFENS,' supported by two unicorns with lance flags as before, charged with St. Andrew's saltire and the royal arms. The king continues to use the Biblical sentence of his queen-mother. In 1603, the accession of James VI. to the throne of England gave need for a new seal for Scotland, full of armorial emblems and symbolising by the supporters, viz. the unicorn of Scotland and lion of England, the union of the two countries under one ruler. The *style* adopts the phrase of 'Great Britain,' but later seals revert to an older phraseology. The

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ROYAL SEALS OF SCOTLAND

reverse is equestrian, with a landscape intended perhaps for the city and environs of Edinburgh. Here the fleur-de-lis and portcullis, royal badges of the so-called Plantagenets and Tudors, may be found, and the Biblical motto (Ps. lxxii. 1):—

'DEUS · JUDICIUM · TUUM · REGI · DA,'

expresses the royal sentiments very aptly. Charles I., 1625, adapts the seal of his father for Scotland by altering the name on the obverse, but the reverse here is a copy, and the view of Edinburgh includes the heights of Arthur's Seat in outline. Plate-armour is exhibited at its best, and the legend, 'JUSTITIA · ET · VERITAS,' caps, as it were, the pious invocation of his father's counterseal. In the legend, *Magnæ Britanniæ Rex* gives way to *Scotiæ Angliæ et Hiberniæ Rex.*

The Privy Seals, *secreta* or secret seals, and signets are by far the greatest number armorial. Alexander III., about 1260, uses an effigy of his royal person, and a shield of arms. His priceless motto,

'ESTO · PRUDENS · UT · SERPENS · ET · SIMPLEX · SICUT · COLUMBA,'

from Matt. x. 16, is perhaps the forerunner of the later use of Biblical texts, which we have already pointed out were affected by Scottish rulers. James II. shows trefoils on his seals; Mary gives the lion a triple tail, and adds the annulet, mascle, saltire, and thistle. Her motto (used also by her royal father who first took it), 'IN · DEFENS,' deserves a passing mention, because the older form of the Scottish royal motto appears to be 'SUB · MEA · DEFENSIONE.' This formula, now disused, is found with the royal arms, two unicorns for supporters, and crest on a crown, a demi-lion *affronté* crowned, holding a sword and a split banner-flag on a lance or staff in the rare work entitled *Historia Majoris Britanniæ tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ per Joannem Majorem Scotum Theologum*, 1520' (Venumdatur Jodoco Badio Ascensio,

1520; Coloph. Id. Apr. MDXXI.), wherein are set forth many remarkable events and theories concerning the history of Britain down to the reign of James V.

The seals of Queens Consorts of Scotland are of the personal type, joined with fine architectural work, and armorial. Those of Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII., and Consort Queen of James IV. of Scotland, are very beautiful, and perhaps from rings. Her motto was 'IN · GOD · IS · MY · TRAIST.' Other signets attributed to queens of Scotland are well worthy of attention, but want of space prevents our notice of them here.

There are not many official seals of Royal Courts and offices extant. They appear to be mostly of heraldic character. The admirals very appropriately made an anchor one of the components in their devices. The present writer has said in his recent work on Scottish seals, in his review of the royal series, the 'archaic period of the seals exhibits the simplicity and severity of the manners and customs prevalent' in early times. 'The nascent and gradually awakening spirit of beauty which inspired so many wonderful examples of architecture throughout the kingdom, reached the seal-designers and engravers in their endeavours to produce work worthy of the artistic times in which they lived. The culminating era of the so-called Gothic styles found a ready response in the seal to the challenge which the ecclesiastical or monastic edifice offered to it; then came the rejection of the Gothic, and preference for Italian and Renaissance designs, which in turn were adopted by the national art workers; and finally the post-Palladian, which practically crushed all native creative talent in order to make room for incongruous, piecemeal imitations, culled at haphazard from the ruin of multifarious styles, invaded the domain of the seal-designers, and strangled, we fear for ever, the native Caledonian feeling and taste which might, under more favourable conditions, have found a congenial medium on the seals of the country.'

CHAPTER XIII

EPISCOPAL SEALS OF SCOTLAND

THE seals of Scotland employed during the middle ages by the Ecclesiastical and Monastic foundations of that realm are in many cases of great beauty and elegant in their design, while, on the other hand, some few among them exhibit the rugged provincialism which characterises some of the private seals of Scottish families and local institutions. These begin early in the twelfth century with the less elaborate designs, and attain to their best period in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, slowly failing in true art character as they pass on to the fifteenth and succeeding centuries, after which period the glory of the seals departs as a means of artistic delineation; and after the sixteenth century the seal ceases to be responsive to the best creative imagination of the designer. The See of St. Andrews is peculiarly happy in the series of seals which were used by the successive occupants of the episcopal and archiepiscopal throne. This series is almost complete, and like the great seals of England, illustrates in itself the rise, progress, and decay of the seal art. The earliest seals depict the bishop, standing full length and front face, lifting up the right hand in the attitude conventionally connected with the bestowing of the benediction on the flock, and holding in the left hand a curved crozier, or pastoral staff, indicative of the bishop's office of pastor in charge over the spiritual welfare of his diocese. This motive, which begins at the earliest period, is carried on with few differences, and rare departures, down to the end of the period

already spoken of; indeed the seal-engravers of the present day strive to keep this principle in view, although the technique they employ is hopelessly inferior to the beautiful specimens of the middle ages which they either cannot, or will not, adopt for their models.

As time passes on, the bishop occasionally impressed his ring seal, an antique engraved intaglio gem, on the reverse of the seal, as in the case of Bishop Earnald of this See. A succeeding bishop, Richard, in 1173, used a seal, where, while preserving the attitude of those who had gone before, the vestments in which his effigy is clad are richly embroidered, a fact which shows that at the end of the twelfth century some improvement in the decorative arts was beginning to arise. The particular manner of curving the staff is to be noticed. When it turns towards the dignitary who carries it, it is believed to symbolise the right of exercising episcopal authority within the limits of the area over which the prelate exercised his sway; when the curve is outwards or away from the prelate who holds it, some see in this a more extended authority and a more comprehensive rule, reaching beyond the mere boundaries of the See, and indicating the possession of functions appertaining rather to a primate than to a bishop by him whose staff is thus directed. This same bishop impressed his gem ring on the back of his seal, after the prevailing fashion of his time, for in the middle ages the importance of a ring seal, the design of which should be of wide knowledge and requisition, was very great indeed, and our museums bear witness to the universal use of these objects not alone by church dignitaries but by the nobility and other prominent personages. The engraved stone was set in a rim of gold or silver, on which an appropriate legend or inscription was placed. Here the gem is of the second century after Christ, and is engraved with a classical chariot for two horses. As Richard, Bishop of St. Andrews, had formerly been abbot of the important abbey of Calchou or Kelso, it is not unlikely that he

obtained it from some one who had visited the abbey as a refuge from the dangerous world without, or it may have been brought to him by one of the merchants who made a practice of attending the monasteries of Scotland with their wares and merchandise. On the death of Bishop Richard a cardinal was sent from Rome to appease certain disputes that had arisen. In this way Alexius or Alexis, Cardinal of the Papal Church of St. Susanna, brought with him to his duties as peacemaker a seal bearing the curious design of a right hand holding a branch of palm or olive, perhaps purposely suggestive of the peace which he was charged to restore to the troubled realm. At the close of the twelfth century there occurs the seal of Bishop Roger, son of Earl Robert of Leicester, and Lord Chancellor in 1178. His seal was made while he was bishop elect, that is between the times of his appointment and his consecration, when he could not rightly be represented with the crozier, nor as pronouncing an episcopal benediction. Conventionalism required that as bishop elect he should appear on the seal, seated, holding a lily in the right hand, to indicate purity of character, or devotion to the Virgin Mother, and in the left hand a sacred book symbolical of the duties of such an office as that he was to fill. French influence, which ever exercised strong sway over Scottish arts and manners, is well shown on this early seal by the animals' heads at the terminals of the fald-stool on which the bishop is seated. About 1103, after his consecration, the same dignitary is delineated on his new seal as *Scottorum Episcopus*, without reference to any province or See, in the usual style of bishop fully invested with episcopal rights, clad in suitable vestments, standing on a footboard or platform, and holding his pastoral staff in the one hand while the other is raised to pronounce the blessing he now was entitled to bestow.

Succeeding bishops, William Malvoisine, David, and Abel, of the thirteenth century, follow the type, but add details of stars, crescents, the alpha and omega symbols,

and suchlike things, to the simple episcopal figure. The worship of the Virgin Mary is indicated by the invocation of 'AVE MARIA GRACIA PLENA.' To these follow the style adopted by Bishop Gameline, whose seal has its background replenished with trefoils and quatrefoils, a detail much admired among the Scottish engravers. St. Andrew, patron of the realm and of the See, is delineated accompanied by his executioners who are fastening him to a saltire cross with cords, while overhead is a Gothic canopy from which issues an angel holding the crown for the martyr. This design, with variation of detail, was copied by Bishop William Wiseheart, 1273-1279, when he succeeded to the episcopal chair. Before that, his seal as an ecclesiastic bears the curious design of a fox running, in front of a tree, with two birds perched on its boughs. Bishop William Fraser introduces armorial bearings into the seal of the bishop, and uses the diapered reticulated background to point to the net of St. Peter, with a cinquefoil in each mesh in allusion to the family arms of the Frasers. St. Andrew is found again on the counterseal of this bishop, and the sun and crescent moon, emblems to which many hidden meanings and potent virtues have been attributed more or less fancifully in accordance with the wit and imagination of expounders, are not wanting from the graceful design, which marks the increasing interest in episcopal seals that was arising in this century.

Last in this century comes the seal of Bishop Lamberton, whose fancy introduced a new style that was to supersede for a time the conventionalism of past epochs. In his seal of 1305 the effigy of the bishop takes a subordinate place at the base of the design, under an arch where is set the half-length figure of the patron saint, crucified on a saltire between a star of five points, a crescent, and the grouped emblems of St. Kentigern of Glasgow, a ring and a bird. The divine hand of the Almighty Father is placing a crown on the head of the Saint, and the canopy over the design bears an Agnus Dei

or Lamb of God, by way of a play on the bishop's surname. This bishop changes his style from 'Bishop of the Scots' to 'Bishop of St. Andrews,' which was subsequently adopted by the occupants of the See.

The fourteenth-century method of Scottish bishops' seals is well illustrated by Bishop James Benet, who clings to the established design of St. Andrew's crucifixion. His successor, Bishop Landels, 1342-1385, keeps to the sainted effigy, and adds the royal arms of the realm of Scotland, and a shield of the family arms of Landels, an orle. He also must be accredited with the employment of the earliest arms for the See, which are the royal arms of Scotland differenced with a staff and sceptre over all, a very cleverly constructed bearing, significant of the principal diocese of that kingdom. Bishop Trayl, in 1385, adheres to the scene of the martyrdom, but enhances it with a carved Gothic niche, having a canopy, and open work at the sides, not, however, omitting the shields of the royal arms of the kingdom, and his own family arms. The counterseal shows the Virgin Mother and the Infant Christ enclosed in a Gothic niche, accompanied with the family arms and supporters of Trayl. The highest point of beauty in this series of episcopal Scottish seals is, however, attained by Bishop Henry Wardlaw, in the early years of the fifteenth century, a seal possessing some of the charms of the art of the preceding century. Here may be seen a fine architectural niche with open tabernacle work at the sides, St. Andrew crucified on his saltire cross, supported by angels holding royal arms, St. Peter and St. Paul with their customary emblems in other side niches, and, at the lower part of the design, the figure of the prelate, beneath a semicircular-headed arch, placed between two shields of arms identified with the Wardlaw families. But the fifteenth century is one of degeneracy, and this decadence becomes apparent in Bishop Kennedy's seal of 1450, which is, nevertheless, finely elaborated. Here we find the Virgin and the Divine Son, the sainted patron of the kingdom, with

other saints, and in the lowest part of the *tableau* the bishop whose seal it is looking at his protectors in adoration, beside two shields, one standing for the Kennedy family, viz. three crosses crosslet fitchées; the other with similar charges placed within the royal tressure flory-counterflory, manifestly inspired by the charge on the royal arms. The occurrence of the charge appears to strengthen the idea above mentioned that the early arms of this See were connected with or derived from those that appertain to the Scottish realm. Bishop Kennedy used also a round seal, or so-called *sigillum rotundum*, as well as the episcopal seal of vesical or pointed oval form, exclusively set apart for bishops' seals, and the design of St. Andrew crucified is retained, with two kneeling angels supporting the arms of the Kennedy family, honourably augmented with addition of the royal tressure.

The last of the bishops, Graham, still retains the martyred saint's effigy, the royal arms and the tressured arms of his family, but substitutes a representation of the Holy Trinity in place of the more familiar figures of the Virgin and Child. Archbishops now take the place of bishops, and the seal of Archbishop Schivez comes on the scene. Its architectural details are very elaborate, set in three Gothic niches. Here are represented St. Andrew, not crucified, but mystical and spiritualised, holding his saltire emblem and the book of the Church; St. Michael the celestial protagonist, with his long cross and the balance typical of the final trial of the world when the trump of the archangel shall sound; a sainted bishop; the Blessed Trinity in an overhead niche with royal arms; and an arcade of three round-headed arches in the base part of the scheme containing the archbishop between two saints, one of whom with a fawn may possibly be St. Giles. The See, now become a recognised Province, passes into the sixteenth century, and demonstrates by its seals the decadence inherent to the arts of the time. Archbishop James Stuart, son of King James III., reproduces figures

of St. Andrew, the Holy Trinity, Michael, and his own effigy adoring these, between St. Giles and possibly St. Benedict, but the proportions are not well maintained, and some of the architectural details are too massive.

The succeeding archbishop, Alexander Stuart, natural son of King James IV., imitates his predecessor's design, and one of his seals as Commendator of Dunfermline is interesting, because it introduces the slipped thistle which by this time had become the well-recognised national badge. Andrew Forman, in 1517, represents St. Andrew between St. Paul and St. Peter, beatified, and in company with their customary emblems. In his *sigillum rotundum* stands Mary Magdalene with her box of precious ointment, an idea poorly imitated by Archbishop James Beton in 1527, and accompanied with family arms. David Beton, cardinal archbishop and legate, used in 1542 a large seal with saints and shields of arms, set on a long cross and ensigned with a cardinal's hat. After attaining to the dignity of a cardinal the same prelate placed effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul with their respective emblems in his new seal. Archbishop John Hamilton, legate in 1548, adopts the figures of St. Andrew and St. John Baptist, in place of the previous saints, with his family arms and his motto of 'MISERICORDIA ET PAX.' This seems to be the last Gothic seal of the archbishops of this Province, and later seals of the prelates have little of interest to recommend them. Archbishop James Sharp, 1661-1679, places his own figure on his seal, holding in his hands the saltire cross of his patron saint and a crozier. Reference is given in the legend of this seal to the restoration of the Cathedral by help of King Charles II. in 1661.

The Cathedral Chapter has not left many impressions of seals. One of the earliest bears a goddess, engraved in intaglio or an antique oval gem; another gives an official in 1245, holding a book; later seals of this class give a bishop's head and a shield of arms of the See; a thistle crowned between the initial letters M. R. for Mary, Queen

of Scots. In a seal of the vicar general is set a representation of St. Andrew on a background filled with slipped trefoils, an early ornament of royal origin, and remarkable here for its survival to a late time. The seals used by the Chapter, as a corporation but not individually, contain views of the cathedral at different periods. The central tower is seen in all with various symbols, such as the Divine hand of blessing, the saltire, the cross, the crescent, the star or estoile, and the curious Celtic *triquetra*, or interlaced cord of three pointed loops in triangle, perhaps an emblem of the Blessed Trinity, interesting for the use of knot-work, so favourite an ornament in Scotland upon sepulchral monuments. The latest seal of this Chapter bears a flower-pot, the foliage which springs from it fills up the background of the seal. Its imagery suggests that it points to the Lord as the Vine and the Church as the branches thereof.

The See of Aberdeen was occupied by bishops whose seals are like the foregoing, of considerable importance. Among them may be mentioned the design of the Assumption of the Virgin within an orle of seven stars, used by Bishop Henry le Chen, 1281-1328, with appropriate legend in rhyming hexameter verse; the Annunciation of the Virgin between St. Andrew and St. Joseph, a curiously designed anachronism of religious events. St. Kentigern with his ring and fish, patron of Glasgow, and the Virgin and Child, are favourite subjects, but eventually the use of representations of Divine personages was abandoned, and heraldic design was substituted for what had become displeasing to the national taste. One of the counterseals of the Chapter of Aberdeen represents somewhat quaintly the Nativity of our Lord with the star of Bethlehem shining overhead, and a curious rhyming verse declares that

'SIGNANT · STELLA · THEOS · PRESEPE · PARENS · ASINUS · BOS.'

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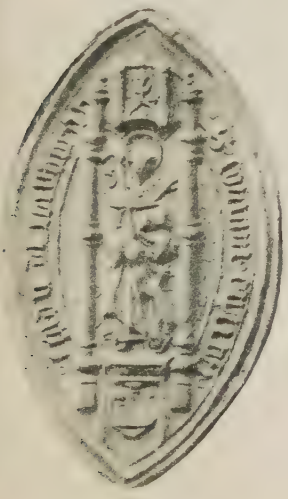

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SEALS OF SCOTTISH CATHEDRALS

In like manner there are several good seals which appertain to the Bishops of Brechin, most of which point to the Blessed Trinity, a subject which had several conventional forms of representation in mediæval times. The early seals of the bishops naturally reproduce the effigy of the prelate with his appropriate dress and staff of office; some of these effigies are in profile, not full face, and from the great resemblance to seals of Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Dunblane, and Moray of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, it would almost appear that many of these, probably with others no longer extant, are the work of the same designer, or derived from a school of followers who took a celebrated common master for their guide in these matters. The crescent moon, and the group of two small pellets, are found on Bishop Alwin's seal, 1248-1256. Bishop William, late in the thirteenth century, prefers the motive of the Lord in glory, a mystical and post-resurrection figure, with the orb of the universe, giving a blessing to the bishop who is in an attitude of veneration at the base of the seal. Apart from the Trinity which is found in Bishop Patrick of Leuchars' seal, 1354-1376, and that of John de Carnotto, 1429-1456, Bishop Shoreswood, Lord High Chancellor, selected for his seal the favourite *Pietà*, or figure of the *Virgo Dolorosa*, holding the dead Christ taken down from the Cross, His foot set on the *sphæra mundi*, symbolising the redemption of the world by His death. The true signification of this group has been misunderstood by Laing, who catalogued many Scottish seals. Bishop Lamb reproduces the Agnus Dei to serve as a rebus on his name.

The Chapter of Brechin in an early sixteenth-century seal used a design of the Trinity, finely conceived, but having the remarkable detail, not uncommon in the period, of placing a cruciferous nimbus on the head of the Father which would be more suitably placed on the Son. Caithness bishops have not left many seals for our notice, but those that are extant deserve a short review.

The counterseal of Bishop William, 1261, gives an ecclesiastic lifting up the hands, and placed in a boat or galley, perhaps in reference to the incident of Cardinal Hugh of St. Angelo described in a British Museum manuscript of Hutton's additions to Keith's well-known Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. Later seals represent St. Columba, the Virgin and Child, armorial bearings, and so forth. The Chapter seal is pointed oval. It gives very finely designed figures of the Virgin and the Infant Saviour with nimbus, accompanied by St. Columba as a bishop, and St. David as a king, and two attendant angels issuing from the arch of the niche under which the Mother is placed. Over all is an arcade of three niches, bearing the heads of three sainted prelates of the diocese; and below, beneath a triple arch, is a choir or procession of nine persons each draped in the vestments of the church and holding a book. A seal attributed to the counterseal of this fine specimen of art carries the Annunciation of the Virgin by the archangel Gabriel, who holds the scroll inscribed with the world-renowned invocation, while in a small niche overhead is seen the Dove of the Holy Spirit descending on the Virgin. A later silver matrix with an imitation of this device is known to be in existence, but the object of its use is not clear.

Dunblane has an early series of bishops' seals, the designs of which are not far from those of other early bishops. In the thirteenth century St. Laurence with his gridiron, and St. Blaan, patron saints, occur on the seals, and the Chapter adopted much the same idea. Dunkeld represents among good examples of the conventional kind, figures of St. Columba, St. John Baptist, St. Catharine, the Virgin and Child, and the Holy Trinity, on the seals of her bishops. The later seals also introduce heraldry among the religious figures. The seal of Dunkeld Chapter shows a Gothic niche containing a shrine, probably a tolerably faithful delineation of the reliquary in which was kept some highly venerated relic

among the church treasures. On each side an angel thurifer is kneeling on a shield of the royal arms of the realm. In base of this fine seal, under an arcade, are three Chapter dignitaries adoring the relics preserved in the coffer above them. The reverse of this seal shows us St. Columba, with his staff and mitre, blessing, seated on a throne, composed, after the French manner, of the heads and legs of animals. The incense-bearing angel and the royal armorials are not wanting here, and in the lower part an arcade of four columns gives room for five monks: one holding the Book of the Rule of St. Columba; one, a pastoral staff; two, books of service; and one, a key. The legend, in rhyming hexameter, explains the scene:

'SANCTE · COLUMBA · TUIS · PASTOR · BONUS · ESTO · MINISTRIS.'

Edinburgh's See brings before us, in a seal of 1496, an effigy of St. Giles, pierced by an arrow, and having a hind or fawn leaping up at his feet. Bricius, Bishop of Moray, in the early years of the thirteenth century used a gem ring counterseal, charged with the goddess of Fortune, holding in her right hand a small *eidolon* of Nike or Victory, a much prized and universally adopted emblem in classical times. A later bishop, John de Pilmour, 1326-1362, also employed his ring of an antique intaglio gem for a counterseal. It is well known that the employment of these gems in rings and seals, which is constantly found in the fourteenth and other centuries, must point to the appreciation of antique precious stones engraved with suitable subjects by those whose education and taste led them to admire the fine arts of anterior periods. Such gems as these are found in use as seals of prelates of exalted position, on military and lay personages of the highest rank and the most prominent public dignity. Some lean to the supposition that the intercourse between the East and the West, fostered by the

Crusades and the Continental trade of these islands with the rest of Europe, helped to bring these beautiful gems to the notice of the rich and the powerful. Others have it that there was a demand for them and the supply was not lacking to satisfy it; that the goldsmith and the jeweller kept them in stock, and traded in them as they still do. Others again look on them as the spoil torn from the fingers of vanquished Orientals. How beautiful these ancient relics are is testified by the fine collections made of them which adorn our museums, where numerous specimens set in gold and silver with suitable inscriptions, may be compared and admired. Some of the bishops of this See used representations of the Holy Trinity on their seals, which also comprise at different periods the figures of the bishops themselves; the Virgin and Child; St. John the Evangelist; Michael; the Magdalene; and armorial bearings. Here, too, in one seal, that of Bishop James Stuart, 1459, the armorials are a happy combination of those of the See of Moray and of the Stuart family. Henry, an archdeacon of Moray, had a seal, in 1438, on which is engraved the familiar delineation of Nicolas, Bishop of Myra, restoring to life three youths who had been cruelly put to death in a boiling caldron. The legend of St. Nicolas was universally known, his miracles were eagerly read and accepted, and the events of his life are met with as the subjects of numberless works of art. It is not, therefore, difficult to understand the occurrence of this *motif* so far north as the Diocese of Moray.

The See of Orkney venerated with especial reverence the memory of the patron, St. Magnus, whose effigy is found both on the seals of the bishops and on the Chapter seal. At Ross the patrons, St. Peter and St. Boniface, were distinctively honoured by representation on the bishops' seals. Glasgow, next to St. Andrews, is perhaps the best represented of all the Scottish Sees. The series is very fully preserved. Among the early seals we have the effigies of the bishops with their con-

comitants, the mitre and the staff; the gem-ring counter-seal occurs here also. Florence, as bishop elect, is delineated as seated on a throne or chair before a reading-desk and holding a rod. The legend of St. Kentigern is here the favourite design, as befits the patron of the See. At the end of the thirteenth century a new departure takes place; the fish and perching bird connected with this saint's history and tradition appear on the seals, and sometimes St. Kentigern is accompanied with St. Laurence, whose worship in Scotland was widespread.

The legend of Kentigern is a curious one, and comprehends several wonderful events; the one principally selected for illustration on seals is that where the saint restores a lost ring to Queen Languoreth, which she had received from her royal consort, but failed to preserve under remarkable conditions. The events depicted on some of the Glasgow seals have been variously explained, and it is necessary to study the history of the saint very carefully before attempting to elucidate the exact meaning of the designs. Heraldry, the episodes in Kentigern's life, the Virgin and Child, the Trinity, St. Michael, St. Catharine, and designs similar or not far removed from designs found on the seals of bishops of other Sees, form the principal devices in this instance, and the fish, ring, bell, and other emblems of the patron saint continually occur on these seals. The art exhibited by the seals of the seventeenth century is poor compared with the finely proportioned details of the early epochs in this series of Glasgow seals. The Chapter of Glasgow possessed good seals. One of the earliest designs is the familiar one of the Agnus Dei, or Lamb of God, emblem of John Baptist, but it is difficult to say why this appears on a Glasgow seal. A second seal of the thirteenth century, used until the beginning of the fifteenth, illustrates the Holy Eucharist, a rare subject on seals, by delineating a chalice upon an altar, with the divine hand of blessing reaching down to the cup, and two priests engaged in the celebration, St. Kentigern is pronouncing

a benediction, and the members of the Chapter are adoring their patron, on their knees, with uplifted hands. The legend puts into the mouths of the suppliants the pious prayer:

'KENTEGERNE · TUOS · BENEDIC · PATER · ALME · MINISTROS.'

Other seals show the apparatus of the Kentigernian legend, the tree, the bell, the bird, the ring, and the fish which are associated with the saint in the traditions of ancient Scotland. John, a chancellor of Glasgow in the fourteenth century, used a seal which represents himself kneeling before his protecting saint, who is giving his blessing. Over him are two human eyes which symbolise the divine oversight which he prays for. Some Chapter dignitaries favour heraldic seals, and one of them, John of Carrick, whose date is about 1371, possessed a very interesting seal where St. John Baptist is placed between St. Kentigern and St. Catharine, the Virgin and Child overhead, the figure of the owner placed between two lions sejant guardant addorsed, and in allusion to the legend of Kentigern a fish and ring, and a bird and branch. The bishops of the See of Argyll and Lismore have not left many seals. Those that remain follow the usual series of types, where the effigy of the prelates accompanied by special saints chiefly predominates.

In some cases the patron occupies the principal and central position, and the bishop takes the subordinate attitude of a suppliant under an arch. One seal, that of Bishop Alan, 1250-1262, whose epoch coincides with the best period of seal art in Scotland, bears on its reverse the somewhat aggressive legend:

'REGNET · PAX · ENSIS · MIHI · SERVIAT · ERGADIENSIS,'

from which we may infer that Bishop Alan belonged to the church militant. Heraldry is also affected by these

bishops in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and one shield of a bishop's arms bears the unicorn sejant, which the owner may have had suggested to his notice by the supporter of the royal arms of the realm. Bishop Arthur Ross, 1675, chose for his motto 'SIT · CHRISTO · SUAVIS · ODOR,'—a quaint and probably unique sentiment. The seals of this Chapter are rude and archaic in feeling.

Candida Casa, or Whithorn, in Galloway, in the south-west part of the kingdom, for a long period one of the suffragan dioceses of York Province, brings to our consideration many beautiful seals of her bishops. This See was subordinated as a suffragan to Glasgow Archbishopric by a Papal Bull emanating from Innocent VIII. in 1492, and thus passed from the government of the Primate of York to that of the Scottish Province. Among these seals is a finely executed one belonging to Bishop Gilbert, 1235-1253, designed in the usual style of the episcopal effigy with a cross on the breast. The counter-seal is one of the most remarkable in the whole series of Scottish Ecclesiastical seals. It is the impression of a pointed oval gem ring; the gem, set in precious metal, was an antique oval intaglio, which may be attributed to about the second century of the Christian era. The subject of the engraving is the now familiar and favourite one of the Holy Lamb of God, the Agnus Dei, reguardant, nimbed and bearing a classic cross. The legend enables us to know that the gem itself was a jasper, which, in accordance with the dogmas of the scientific philosophy of this early period, was endued with the power of stanching the flow of blood, and this wondrous virtue is thus declared in the hexameter legend on the metal which enclosed the gem:

'+ JASPIDIS · EST · VIRTUS · FUSUM · SEDARE · CRUOREM.'

Bishop Henry, who sat on the episcopal throne for nearly the whole of the second moiety of the thirteenth

century, 1255-1292, added further beauties to the type of the seal. His vestments are embroidered, and his effigy is placed between the crescent moon and radiant sun-star, some aspects of whose symbolism have already been explained to our readers. On the reverse stands the sainted Ninian, founder of the See, blessing the suppliant prelate, whose adoration takes the form of a rhyming hexameter verse—a not uncommon method of composing legends of seals in Scotland—here perhaps remarkable for its grammatical inaccuracy:

'SANCTE · PRECOR · DA · NE · TIBI · DISSPLICEAR · NINIANE.'

St. Ninian forms the theme of later seals here. The Prior and Chapter placed a view of their Premonstratensian Church dedicated to St. Ninian and St. Martin on an early seal which they used in the thirteenth century. Few seals only remain to illustrate the bishops of the Isles. In them the prelate is seated in a small galley or lymphad, and his family armorials are set near at hand.

All these episcopal seals and capitular seals of Scotland are of interest, for while in the main they follow conventional English types, yet from time to time they reflect a French influence and a native touch of talent is sometimes manifested, as in the last-mentioned boat type. As for the French inspiration, it is well known that France and Scotland were closely in companionship during many ages, and hence it is natural to find that Scottish art and Scottish taste savoured of the more powerful arts and tastes of France. When the native workman arose, a more rugged provincial character was taken up by the seals which thereby more accurately represented the true national spirit of progress. In the capitular seals far less attention to conventionalism was paid than in the episcopal examples: a patron saint, a public event, a local point of more than passing stir, the tradition of a district, or an artist's caprice, served to

supply the design; and the ingeniously constructed lines of Latin verse testify to the earnestness and capability of their authors, who must have expended much time and thought on the elaboration of these peculiar sentences. The lesser officers of the church have left but a scanty number of examples of seals, but they compare very satisfactorily with English seals of a corresponding class. Had their size been greater and their material more enduring we should have been enabled to study the many points of interest which they evidently exhibited.

CHAPTER XIV

SCOTTISH MONASTERIES, COLLEGES, AND ECCLESIASTICAL FOUNDATIONS

THE Monasteries of Scotland, as those of other countries, do not appear to have been trammelled by any very strict conventional rules to govern the designs of their seals. Some of these are of the pointed oval form known as the *vesica*; others are circular, and a few are oval. The representations on them are very varied in character: derived from episodes in the life of Christ, or of divine persons; effigies of saints, generally accompanied by their customary emblems; heraldic bearings, armorial designs or allusions, and numerous other designs and devices which suggested themselves as appropriate for delineation on a monastic seal. One of the devices occurring most often is a half-length figure of the Virgin Mary, holding the Infant Saviour, occasionally attended by angels. This is to be explained by the fact that the Virgin was the preferred patroness of numerous religious institutions throughout Christendom. Hence the frequent occurrence of her effigy, with the Infant Saviour on her arm or knee, sometimes accompanied by subordinate details, on seals of abbeys and priories, colleges and cells, as also on the seals of those who governed, or assisted in the government of, such establishments. Regret has been expressed by writers on the monastic antiquities of the country that so many seals of this class are no longer in existence, having perished at the time when the widespread calamities of disestablishment, demolition, and effacement overtook these centres of all that was bene-

ficial and enlightened in the seventeenth and proximate centuries. It may be that we owe the preservation until now of many of these art relics to the pious care which led the wellwishers of these societies to secrete and hide away the matrices of the seals, and the title-deeds which bore impressions of them, from the destructive search of the iconoclast and church-wrecker. Some have, in this way, been recovered by a chance find among the rubbish-mounds which mark the site of many a fair house of monks, nuns, and canons. The greater number, however, have perished, and the beautiful specimens which must have been extant on all sides when monachism flourished, have, like the houses which they adorned, perished beyond hope of recovery. Of the remnant, not a tithe of what might have been saved, a short notice will be now given and some of the most important of the designs will be described.

The Carmelite Priory of Aberdeen, Provincial House of the order of Mount Carmel in Scotland, in 1411 used a representation of our Lord's Resurrection, and later in the fifteenth century the same Carmelites reproduced, on their Common seal, the pentacle of Solomon, a five-pointed star in outline, an emblem of wonder-working potency if used aright, capable of exerting the most powerful influences over wrong and wrongdoers, and here fortified beyond its usual measure of strength by the addition of the letters composing the name of the Virgin Mary between the points. A third seal in use in the same century represents the Crucified Christ, accompanied with the Virgin and Child, and St. Basil, ancient rule-giver of the order. Yet another seal, in use during the closing years of the same epoch, shows St. Andrew, on his saltire cross of martyrdom, between the crescent moon and sun-star, emblems of paradise, and two trees drawn in formal conventionalism which may perhaps stand for that peculiarly Scottish national badge, the thistle. In 1544 the Virgin and Child appear on the seal of the Prior Provincial of the Scottish Carmelites;

and a very similar representation is found on the seal of the Nunnery of Aberdour, in Fifeshire. Abernethy Collegiate house of St. Bridget bears the armorials of the Abernethy family on the one side, on the other a figure of St. Bridget, nimbed, and armed with her pastoral staff, and with her emblem a cow standing beside her. The legend,

'IN · DOMO · DEI · AMBULAVIMUS · CUM · CONCENSU,'

refers to the members of the order, not to the saint and her symbol. Shaw, one of the provosts, used a private heraldic seal.

Arbroath, sometimes called Aberbrothock, in Forfarshire, rejoiced in its dedication to the greatly renowned martyr St. Thomas of Canterbury, and its seals, which are very beautiful, testify to its veneration of its patron. His tragic death is delineated with minute and vivid detail on the obverse of the seal; on the reverse is a reliquary, no doubt a figure of the shrine wherein were preserved some of the gruesome relics of the illustrious English martyr. Therein is seen a figure of the Divine Mother holding her Child and a branch of elegant foliage of the style especially affected in the thirteenth century. The Star of Bethlehem sheds its benign rays over the Child's head; the sun of righteousness was a favourite object with the artist who desired to indicate the beauty, light, and far-reaching influence of Christianity. The legend is most remarkable. It is a kind of jingling patter of Latin words arranged in an elegiac distich relating to the open door of the reliquary, one of the many epithets of the Virgin, and Eve who first brought woe on the world. The effusion must have cost the author many weary hours of word-twisting before he finally succeeded in writing:

'PORTA · SALUTIS · AVE : PER · TE · PATET · EXITUS · A · VE · VENIT · AB · EVA · VE : VE · QUIA · TOLLIS · AVE.'

This seal has a strange resemblance to the seal of

Middleton Abbey in Dorsetshire, which possesses the same legend, and was probably made by the same hand. There is a seal in the British Museum which belonged to an abbot of this abbey in 1286, where the Blessed Virgin and Child with attendant angels, and St. Thomas the martyr of Canterbury, in the upper part, are the subject of adoration by the abbot below. Another seal, that of Hamilton the last commendator, in 1608, made at a time when representations of celestial personages were discouraged, is purely heraldic. The monks of Arbroath also affected the cult of St. Thomas, if we may so presume from a fine matrix still extant. Ardchattan, in Lorne, Argyllshire, a daughter house of the now desolate Convent of Vallis Caulium, not far from Dijon in the forests of Eastern France, the head of a curious regulated order somewhat similar to the Cistercian Rule, was one of the three owning obedience to that foreign head. The other two were Beaulieu and Pluscardine. One impression only of the seal of Ardchattan has been met with; it represents the common patron of the order, St. John Baptist, holding his Lamb of God set on a roundle or plaque. Its matrix may be attributed to the thirteenth century, but the impression is attached to a sixteenth century deed. The Prior of the Dominican Friars of Ayr put the patroness St. Catharine with her wheel and sword, in allusion to her martyrdom, on a seal of the fifteenth century.

Balmerino, dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St. Edward, and sometimes called 'St. Edward's,' was an important house of the Cistercians, whose Rule and Order found a large number of adherents and votaries in Scotland. Like others of this particular Rule, it was under the protection of the Virgin, and her effigy, crowned as Queen of Heaven, with the Infant Saviour, and the royal arms of the kingdom, are delineated on the seal. The abbot placed on his seal his own figure holding his staff and Book of the Rule, standing on an ornamental pedestal, with the emblems of the fleur-de-lis or lily of

the Virgin, and three stars for the Trinity, at the sides of the design. Banff rejoiced in a Carmelite House, the seal of which repeats the story of the Annunciation of the Virgin. Beaulieu, a sister of Ardchattan, shows a member of the Vallis Caulium fraternity adoring the Divine Mother and Child. Berwick town sheltered Trinitarian Friars of the order of St. Mathurine, whose seal depicted the mystical figure of our Lord sitting on a rainbow with His hands upraised in judgment on the world at the last day. This is accompanied with the instruments of the Passion whereby He redeemed the human race, and the master of the order, adoring his judge, is not wanting from this attractive picture. Blantyre, situated in Clydesdale, co. Lanark, used a late seal of heraldry, with a Biblical text for its legend, incongruous as a design originating in a house of Austin Canons. Brechin Hospital, co. Forfar, a Maison Dieu, employed the design of the Assumption of the Virgin, who is delineated in radiance with the Child and standing on a crescent.

There was an important house of Canons Regular of St. Mary at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling, which possessed a seal of more than ordinary merit. It bears the Virgin and Child under a carved canopy of Gothic work, with a body of six canons in the base part, adoring the heavenly figures, beneath an arch which represents —(a part standing for the whole, as we have seen in other instances)—the conventual church of their abbey. Candida Casa, sacred to St. Ninian and St. Martin, had a pointed oval seal of early date, on which was borne a view of the monastic church, but it is difficult to decide whether this view was a purely conventional one, or based on the true appearance of the building at the time the seal was made. Coldingham, in Berwickshire, was also a notable nunnery. It belonged to the Cistercian Order, and looked for patronage to the tutelary care of St. Cuthbert. One of its seals, late in the twelfth century, shows the prior seated reading at a lectern. In later

seals St. Cuthbert appears in company with the Virgin Mary and Infant Saviour. Sacred and heraldic designs are conjointly delineated in a seal of the early sixteenth century. The Cistercians possessed an important nunnery at Coldstream, in co. Berwick, where a salmon hooked between two quatrefoils and a crescent enclosing a star point by way of a rebus to the Virgin Patroness and to the *stream* on the banks of which the site of the nunnery reposed. The Cluniac order held Crossraguel, or Crux Regalis Abbey, in Carrick, the southern district of Ayrshire, and its seal depicts the Virgin Mary and the Child beneath an elegant canopy, and accompanied, as in other Scottish monastic seals, by a group of monks worshipping their patrons under an arch of composite character, signifying an arcade or processional ambulatory. Culros, another Cistercian house, in Perthshire, favours the usual style of the Order, and uses the crescent and star. Cupar in Angus, another institution of the same Religious Order, repeats the same *motif*, but the Child holds the lily of purity in the right hand; and below, the abbot is adoring the figures, between armorial shields. This abbey had several seals, one of which finds a parallel in that of Culros, the design of which is the abbot holding the crozier of authority, but in this latter case two fleurs-de-lis take the place of the crescent and star.

Deer, also a Cistercian house, yields to none in interest for its seals, for from this ancient monastery came the celebrated *Book of Deer*, a priceless record of the most remote history of Christian Caledonia. Dryburgh, a Premonstratensian abbey, had several seals which follow the usual current of monastic designs, the abbatial hand with crozier, the Virgin Patroness, the abbot with Book of the Rule, and heraldry follow one another as time passes and fashions change. In 1404 one abbot's seal depicts the Holy Trinity, where the Virgin and Child, St. John Baptist with his Lamb and martyr's palm-branch, are adored by the owner whose kneeling effigy is humbly placed in the lowest part of the seal under an arch. The

Franciscan Minorites of Dumfries prefer St. Francis, and this saint also takes a place of honour on the seal of the Franciscan Grey Friars of Dundee. Dunbar depicts a female saint with scourge and book, and concomitant heraldry. The Dundraynan Cistercians in Galloway follow the taste of the Order in using the design of the hand holding the pastoral staff between the sun-star and crescent moon. An abbot of this illustrious house places his own figure on a bracket, with staff and book between two five-leaved roses.

Dunfermline Benedictine Abbey, of high renown and historic pre-eminence in Fifeshire, under the patronage of the Blessed Trinity and St. Margaret of Scotland, possessed an early seal, dating perhaps as far back as the twelfth century, whereon is designed a view of some portion of the monastic buildings, enclosing a chalice on a stand, blessed by a divine hand from which rays pass into the vessel. It was a seal symbolical of the Trinity, and hence four points of metaphor are foreshadowed: the blessedness of the Order; the Almighty Father's hand; the cup of the Son's Passover; the descent of the Holy Spirit. These last three taken together represent the Trinity. The Chapter of the abbey possessed a curious seal which seems to have been inspired by the foregoing design. Here again in the interior of a church is an altar bearing the chalice, with two celebrant ecclesiastics or monks in attendance. Behind them is St. Margaret reading at a lectern, and attended by a reading monk. The reverse has also a very remarkable design of the four angels of the Gospels, lifting up within a panel the Divine Judge, whose judgment is thus indicated as resting on the Evangelistic revelation, seated on the bow in the clouds, holding the open Book of Life; the cruciferous nimbus on his head, the raised hand of a judge delivering final sentence, accompanied by the Sun of Righteousness, the crescent moon, the four-leaved flower of Heavenly Love, the five-leaved blossom of the redeeming wounds, and the triple foliage of the little

branches, either emblematic of the Triune God or in allusion to the early national badge, afterwards exchanged for the thistle, which King Edward I. of England had introduced into his late thirteenth-century seal, are all consonant with the theme. The legend is as remarkable as the *tableau* itself. It is an elegiac distich in rhyming Latin, descriptive of the Day of Judgment and the pronouncement of the final doom:

'MORTIS · VEL · VITE · BREVIS · EST · VOX · ITE · VENITE · DICETUR · REPROBIS · ITE · VENITE · PROBIS.'

In 1292 we meet with the seal of Abbot Ralph, who delineates the Almighty wearing the cross-marked nimbus as in a former example already spoken of, holding the crucified Christ, between a star and crescent, with a pellet between the horns. The owner of this seal places his own effigy in an attitude of adoration under an arch in the lower part of the design, which standing as a part for the whole, represents the Church; *Ecclesia Christi* is inscribed thereon. There are several seals of Edinburgh monasteries and convents. In that of St. Catharine of Siena, the eponymic saint holds a crucifix and heart, while Satan overthrown lies prostrate before her.

Holyrood had a very early seal, 1141, whereon stands an elevation of the church with aisle, transepts, and central tower capped by a dome, a view no doubt conventional to a great degree, but yet possibly preserving some details that were familiar to its frequenters. A later seal gives representations of the crucifixion of Christ between St. Mary and St. John. This may be of the thirteenth century; another later still gives our Lord on the Cross between the star and crescent, symbolising the open heavens, a conventional grouping dating from the earliest Christian era. Here side-niches show the Virgin Mary and St. Mary Magdalene, and in base another figure of the Virgin and the Child on a shield of the royal arms of the realm accompanied by a stag with the Holy

Rood, which gives its name to the abbey, placed between its antlers, and enhanced with thistles which point to the Scottish nation. Holy Trinity College reproduces a design of the Trinity from which its title is derived. The Dominicans and the convent called the *Castrum Puellarum* delineate the appropriate scene of the Coronation of the Virgin. Elcho, a Cistercian house in county Perth, Ferne, a Premonstratensian institution, Glen Luce, or Vallis Lucis, Haddington, other Cistercian foundations, and many other religious establishments, adopted the familiar picture of the Virgin and Child. Holywood, or the Abbey de Sacro Bosco, a Premonstratensian establishment in Dumfriesshire, gives the rebus of an oak—the 'Holy Wood'—with a bird on a branch thereof, and two stars. The seals of the abbots represent the tree and the bird and other adjuncts. Icolmkill, otherwise called Hy or Iona, a Cluniac house under the patronage of the great Scottish pioneer, Saint Columba, in Argyllshire, represents the patron with two monks of the Order adoring him. Inchaffrey Abbey used a matrix of great beauty which is still extant. This is the *Insula Missarum* of St. Mary and St. John, an Augustinian foundation in Stratherne. One side reproduces the Eagle of the Evangelist holding a scroll on which may be read the opening verse of the Gospel of St. John. This is enriched by the accompaniment of vine leaves, five-leaved and four-leaved flowers, all emblematic of Christian mysteries. The other side shows the conventional interior of a somewhat imaginary church. Under the large opening in the centre stands St. John with nimbed head, palm of victory over death, and book of his Gospel. So greatly valued was this that an attempt was made in after years to imitate it, but without much success.

Inchcolm, the Island Abbey of St. Columba in Fifeshire, also Augustinian, represents on its seal a church of fanciful details, and a galley or lymphad on the waves. Another house of the same order was that of Insula Sancti Colmoci, in county Perth, where we find

effigies of the Virgin Queen and her Divine Son, with St. Colmoc, in episcopal vestments, adoring them. This was of fine workmanship of the fourteenth century, and, like the seal mentioned above, deemed worthy to copy at a later date. The copy, however, which is preserved in the British Museum does not approach to the excellence of the older prototype. The Preaching Friars of Inverness had, in 1436, a representation of St. Bartholomew carrying the implement of his passion, a flaying-knife. Jedburgh Chapter reproduces on the one side of its seal the favoured scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, and on the other side the Angelic Salutation, an equally admired subject for artistic talent, here accompanied by four angels, or saints, and two beautiful trees. An abbot John, in 1532, figures a rare design of the 'Flight into Egypt' on his seal. Kelso, also called Calchou, possessed several most excellent seals. Its patrons are St. Mary and St. John, and in this respect it resembles Inchaffrey and other houses. The earliest seal may be referred to the twelfth century, and gives the Virgin and Child charmingly designed in the best Scottish style. Another, used in 1330, shows the same heavenly personages in a carved niche, and on its reverse a saint between two monks holding candles on tripods, and in this the thistle emblem has been introduced. The third seal is equally interesting. It shows the Saint and the Child holding an orb or mound, like a ball, in the right hand, with two rose-trees in blossom, to signify the floral emblems of her who was the Rose of Sharon. Here, too, like the seal already spoken of, the other side brings before us St. John and his eagle holding a scroll and palm. The legend, also, is the text of the opening words of the fourth Gospel. Later, this seal, like some others of superior merit, was the subject of an inferior copy, and the Cardinal de Guise, commendator of this abbey, introduced letters into the matrix which refer to the office he held. Another even later matrix was fashioned, and a cast from it is preserved in the British

Museum. The Abbot of Kelso, in the closing years of the thirteenth century, used the design of the Virgin Mary holding the Child to her breast and adored by thurible-bearing angels under a canopy. In the base is the abbot celebrating the Eucharist and accompanied by the hand of inspiration or blessing which often occurs in scenes of this nature. The abbot prays in the words of the legend of the seal:

'VIRGO · TUUM · NATUM · LACTANS · FAC · ME · SIBI · GRATUM.'

Patrick, a later abbot, copied this design but varied the details. James Stuart, natural son of King James v., and commendator of this abbey, placed John the Baptist's effigy, curiously enough, instead of John the Evangelist's, on his sixteenth-century seal of somewhat poor design.

Kilwinning, a Tyronensian house in Ayrshire, delineates a figure of the patron saint Winnin, perhaps the only representation extant, with his Book of Rule and pastoral staff, and again employs the ancient slipped trefoil which gave way to the thistle-flower as a national emblem. The seal of the Cistercians of Kinloss, dedicated to the Virgin, shows the 'Adoration by the Magi,' attended with a thurifer angel. The Canons of St. Anthony at Leith Preceptory show on their seals an effigy of their patron St. Anthony of Vienna with his T-shaped cross and his emblem, a pig. Lincluden Nunnery, later transformed into a collegiate church, preferred the figure of the Virgin. The Carmelites of Linlithgow used a similar design, and the leper-house of St. Michael in this town reproduced the favourite mediæval subject of the overthrow of Satan by the archangel militant, who on this occasion defends himself with a shield of royal arms of the realm. An appropriate rhyming prayer in the legend encircles the tableau which is of very late work:

'COLLOCET IN · CŒLIS · NOS · OMNES · VIS · MICHAELIS.'

It is curious that the town seal selected a similar design for its reverse. Lindores Tyronensian Abbey in Fifeshire, dedicated to the Virgin and St. Andrew, at first gives an effigy of the Virgin and Child, holding a small cherub and a spray of foliage, while later the same house introduced into a seal four monks chanting a salutation hymn to the divine group, and on the reverse of the same a spirited *tableau* of the martyrdom of St. Andrew. He is being tied to his saltire cross while seven spectators listen to his teaching, who, if tradition and the legend of the seal speak truly, lingered on the cross for the space of two days during which he taught the people the elements of the Christian faith. Stars and crescent moons play their part, and speak silently to those to whom it has been given to understand, in this picture, and in the lower part a suppliant monk is gazing in adoration and wonder on his suffering protector. An abbot's seal, about 1270, derives much of its design from the details of this. Melrose Abbey, so justly celebrated for its sublimely beautiful ruins even now long after its demolition, delineates the Virgin and Child, St. Peter, St. Paul, and a figure by some considered to represent St. Waltheus, an early abbot. Monymusk gives a view of a cruciform church. Paisley Abbey depicts on its Chapter seal its patron St. James, with the staff and scrip emblematical of the pilgrim saint, the sun-star, and the crescent, the saltire of St. Andrew, the fleur-de-lis of the Virgin, stars, crosses, and foliage. On the reverse we see the second patron, St. Mirinus, with his pastoral staff, lifting his hand to give a blessing, with concomitant details as on the obverse, and shields of arms of Stuart and Lennox. Here again occurs a very appropriate Leonine pentameter line of invocation:

'CHRISTUM · PRO · FAMULIS · POSCE · MIRINE · TUIS.'

This saint's effigy appears on a late fifteenth-century seal, celebrating mass at an altar on which is displayed a

crucifix and chalice. The Perth Carthusians, whose house was called 'Vallis Virtutis,' used the device of the Coronation of the Virgin, with the interesting detail of an iconic portraiture of King James I., the founder of the establishment, kneeling in veneration of the tableau.

Pittenweem Austin Priory of St. Mary, formerly set in the Island of May in Fifeshire, depicts its patron saint. Pluscardine, a Morayshire house, which with Ardchattan and Beaulieu testify to the missionary efforts of the French Order of Vallis Caulium, has left us a seal bearing the very unusual subject of the Descent of our Lord into Hell. In this, Christ with nimbus and long cross, indicative of His risen state, is shown liberating Adam and Eve, representative of all mankind, from the veritable 'Jaws of Hell.' In the background the two stars of five points each may either represent the night of spiritual darkness, or constitute a courteous allusion to the heraldry of the Murrays. St. Andrew and St. Margaret, with the Virgin and Child, appear with the Seton coat-of-arms on the seal of Alexander Seton, a late prior. The Carmelites of South Queensferry depict on their seal the Virgin crowned on a crescent, perhaps the Assumption. Restalrig Collegiate Church of the Trinity and St. Mary had a shield charged with a triple branch of lilies, a cleverly designed idea, the lily being the flower attributed to the Virgin, and the threefold branch pointing to the threefold Godhead. St. Andrews Austin Canons Regular used the effigy of the patron on his saltire, with candles at the sides, the Dominicans here using the device of the Saint, and in other seals the Coronation of the Virgin, the Virgin and Child, and a shield charged with St. Dominic's wild boar, for the priory arms. The Austin Canons of Scone, under the protection of St. Michael and the Holy Trinity, had an ancient seal showing a conventional abbey church with the Almighty Father and the Son set on the roof, a sentiment not without parallel among English monastic seals. A later seal, of large diameter, in use in 1560, but of probably earlier date for its making,

shows the tableau of the Coronation of the King of Scots which (with many exceptions, nevertheless) is connected with the stone called the 'Coronation Stone of Scone,' by some identified with that stone which served Jacob for his pillow, according to the Scriptures, now in Westminster Abbey, whither it was sent by King Edward I., in 1296, where it performs its part during the coronation ceremonies of the emperor monarchs of Great Britain. In this we may see the King of Scots, with crown and sceptre and other regalia, his *entourage* of State officers, the shields of arms of Scotland, Athole, and Stratherne, and the background of quatrefoils so frequently introduced as an ornament into seals of importance. The reverse is unique in its wealth of religious allegory: the Trinity enthroned, between the Evangelistic symbols, Michael vanquishing Satan, and the winged figures each on a wheel, in allusion to the mysterious vision of Ezekiel, all these make up a seal of the greatest peculiarity and interest. Michael in combat with the Prince of Darkness seems to have been a favourite in Scottish art. The same *motif* is found at Dumfries and at Linlithgow as well as other places. Soulseat, or 'Sedes Animarum,' near Stranraer, and Sweetheart, or 'Suavi-Cordium,' near Dumfries, two Cistercian houses in the old province of Galloway (but according to some the former was of the Premonstratensian Order), figure the Virgin Mary and the Child, a favourite and perpetually recurring emblem of ecclesiastical and monastic peace and love.

As for the Religious Orders in Scotland, although the monasteries were numerous, and the classes of monks and nuns many—perhaps with a predominance in favour of the Cistercian, whose simplicity and plainness in matter of architecture compared better with the rugged beauty of most places, than the richness of Benedictine detail, yet the seals of Orders are far from numerous, and those that still remain are not of any very transcendent merit. The Dominicans, Black Friars, or Preachers delineated St. Andrew, and for their Priors Provincial, St. Dominic

was a favourite emblem. One seal, an example of the sixteenth century, shows St. Dominic holding a crucifix and accompanied by a dog courant carrying a burning brand, perhaps in allusion to the ardour of this Preaching Order, which strove above all things to keep alive the flame of divine love which had ever been the chief aim of the Christian teacher. St. Francis is represented by the Grey Friars or Franciscans, who also, in some cases at least, did not disdain to have recourse to St. Andrew as showing the locality to which they belonged. The Trinitarians, who devoted themselves to the humane work of redeeming and succouring captives—a work of the highest importance in the mediæval days of slavery and thraldom—adopted the figuring of the Blessed Trinity, a subject difficult to portray and very often treated in an unconventional manner; while the Carmelites, if we may judge from the design on the seal of the Provincial General at the close of the fifteenth century, reproduced an effigy of the national Saint, crucified on his saltire cross, accompanied with two thistle flowers for Scotland, and a sun and moon, or crescent and star, to supply an enhancement to the religious sentiment which the principal figure was to arouse. Later, however, the representation of the Virgin and Child appears to have been preferred, as in numerous instances of the seals of individual houses.

CHAPTER XV

LOCAL SEALS OF SCOTLAND

SCOTLAND is fortunate in having so many interesting seals of her cities, towns, and burghs. They have been described exhaustively by the late Marquess of Bute, K.T., in his two works treating of the Arms of the Parliamentary and Police Burghs, and by Mr. Porteous more recently. Those that are preserved in the British Museum Department of Manuscripts are included in the catalogue of the Museum seals. Most of the matrices of these seals are in the custody of the town clerks and corporations of the respective towns, and many of them are still used for the ratification of formal documents. They range over a long period of centuries, and their designs are remarkable and varied. Heraldry, as is natural, accounts for a large number, and effigies of patron saints, episodes of local history, rebus illustrations of the supposed origin of the name of the place, very often wrongly derived or representing a similarity of sound only; peculiarities of the district, animals, fishes, flowers, or simple arbitrary devices, abound. One of the most favourite types is the formal and conventional castle or fortress, with masoned walls, embattled towers, and details of construction now in one way, now in another, which make this class well worthy of close examination by the student of the military arts of the middle ages. Another class frequently found is that of the ship type, where similarly the various details of the gear and rigging, and the glimpses of methods of seamanship and navigation afford an insight into the history of shipping which always arouses an interest in

our minds. Want of space here forbids notice of more than a few of the most salient specimens of Scottish local seals. That of Aberdeen in the twelfth century represented on the one side St. Nicolas of Myra, whose name and fame are especially venerated by maritime folk, on the one side; on the other, a triple-towered castle. The later seal, 1430, puts the saint under a canopy on a walled castle, and reproduces the scene where he miraculously restores three youths to life in accordance with tradition. The reverse bears the armorials of a triple-towered castle within a royal tressure of Scotland, accompanied with supporters and the legend 'BON ACCORD.' The University of Old Aberdeen used the design of an ornamental double-handled vase, charged with three salmon interlaced, while from above a divine hand and open book are appropriately introduced. The burgh of Anstruther Easter, co. Fife, has the design of an anchor; that of Anstruther Wester, three fishes interlaced. The burgh of Arbroath, co. Forfar, had a thirteenth-century seal with a representation of the martyrdom of St. Thomas between the sun and the moon, the two witnesses required by the Mosaic dispensation as necessary to establish a valid testimony: the fame of the saint of Canterbury must have penetrated far north to account for this.

Ayr burgh used the triple-towered castle type with head of St. John Baptist in a dish, and the Lamb of God in a frame of two squares interlaced. Banff, 1408, has a boar passant, and its later seals show the Virgin and Child in a canopied niche, with fish at the end of the legend. The burgh of Brechin, co. Forfar, in the fifteenth century depicted the Trinity and armorial bearings of local interest. Whithorn, in co. Wigtown, for its Royal Burgh seal gives a fifteenth-century effigy of St. Ninian with his fetters, in a traceried quatrefoil panel. Crail, co. Fife, a royal burgh, had an early seal bearing a ship on one side, the Virgin and Child carried by angels on the other, the background replenished with groups of

pellets in triplets. It also has a late design of a galley, with seven mariners, the crescent moon and eight stars. Cullen burgh, co. Banff, has a very archaic seal of native workmanship, representing the Virgin enthroned with the Child, and a nondescript animal below. This place is dignified on the legend with the title of *urbs*. Culross burgh, co. Perth, shows the Church of St. Servanus, the saint himself in the doorway, and his legendary birds on the roof and overhead. Cupar royal burgh, co. Fife, shows a fourteenth-century design of the Trinity, with sun, moon, and shield of arms. It also had a fifteenth-century design of the Trinity enthroned; below are the two grovelling and abject heretic figures of Judas and Arius. This is in an engrailed frame or panel. The reverse bears, in a cusped border, the arms of the realm.

Dingwall, co. Ross, placed on the Common seal of the royal burgh, 1467, an ornamental estoile or mullet of five points, in which some see an attempt to represent a star-fish, one of the common objects of the seashore in that district. This is quite likely, for it is to be remembered that in like manner the earliest Greek pottery, made by a littoral population hundreds of years before the Christian era, is adorned with patterns of seaweeds and cuttlefish, for it is well known that objects seen on shores always possess a fascination over the mind. The royal burgh of Dumbarton had a fourteenth-century seal bearing an elephant with castle on its back. The royal burgh of Dumfries depicts its patron, St. Michael, overthrowing Satan, with the ever-present crescent and sun-star in the field of view. Dunblane burgh, co. Perth, had a thirteenth-century seal, now in the British Museum, bearing niched effigies of St. Laurence and St. Blaan. Dundee, co. Forfar, had a fine seal of fourteenth-century style, on which was engraved, in an engrailed frame, the Virgin Mary and the Child with two attendant angels censing them. The reverse shows St. Clement, the patron, blessing two suppliants, and an anchor, in reference to the port. The *secretum* bears a vase with flowers, on a

shield, supported by two wyverns. The rebus 'DEI DONUM' is inscribed on a scroll above. In this town the Incorporated Hammermen, or *Malliatores* of St. Eloi, used a seal bearing an effigy of their patron with hammer, staff, and episcopal vestments standing on a shield of arms between two vases of flowers. The seal of the 'Cokete' of the regality of Dunfermline, co. Fife, of the early fourteenth century style, delineates St. Margaret, Queen of Scots, with crown, sceptre, and book, standing on a pedestal between two shields of arms which relate to her position as a kinswoman of Edward the Confessor and as Consort of Scotland. The reverse bears the royal arms of the realm, and is inscribed with the name of 'Robert by the Grace of God, King of Scots.' The City seal shows the sainted queen, with crown and sceptre, between two candlesticks, and on the reverse a tower with a pyramidal pinnacle, between two lions rampant, accompanied with the legend: 'ESTO · RUPES · INACCESSA.' Earlsferry, a burgh of regality, co. Fife, places on its Common seal a lymphad sailing on the waves.

Edinburgh's first Common seal of the royal burgh employed the castle type, with a reverse showing the niched effigy of St. Giles between thistle sprigs. The later seal depicts the castle as standing on a rocky base, and St. Giles in a canopied niche with his fawn and book. Another seal *ad causas* represents Edinburgh Castle with a flag charged with St. Andrew's cross flying from the central tower of the conventional fortress. The town of Leith used a seal on which was a view of the port with a castle and a ship. The legend is

'SIGILLUM BURGI [DE ED]INBURGH VILLE SUE DE LEITH 15 . .'

The burgh of Canongate, or Holyrood vicecanonry, had a fifteenth-century seal engraved with a stag, carrying a cross between its horns and a saltire over its back, between a chapel and a group of trees, all set on a mount replenished

with herbage. Its barony of Portsburgh gives a view of the Castle, triple-towered, with the barony-street of houses, church, fields, trees, birds, and the sun in radiance in a cloudy sky. Its Royal College of Physicians in 1682 caused an armorial seal to be made, bearing the arms of the College, crest, supporters, and motto: 'NON · SINIT · ESSE · FEROS,' from Ovid (*Pont.* ii. 9, 48). The '*Tundiatores*,' or hammermen of Edinburgh, bore on their seal a niche of five pinnacles, enshrining the patron draped in flowing dress and holding a hammer and key. The Revolution Club of the city, 1747, designed for its seal a hand holding a human heart, from which issue two hands holding swords; from the centre rises a thistle with crown upheld by angels, between a crescent and a fleur-de-lis, the whole encircled with laurel branches. The mottoes are as significant as the devices: 'MENTE · MANUQUE,' and 'TANDEM · BONA · CAUSA · TRIUMPHAT.'

Elgin Burgh seal figures St. Giles with book and staff, fourteenth century. Falkland, a royal burgh in co. Fife, has on its common seal a stag lodged reguardant beneath a fructed oak-tree on a mount. Its legend is

'DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI NON TEMNERE CHRISTUM.'

Forfar affects heraldry. Forres, co. Elgin, places on its fifteenth-century Burgh seal an effigy of St. Laurence with book and gridiron, the sun and the moon, and other emblems. Glasgow gives us, on the Common seal of the city, St. Kentigern. Haddington royal burgh represents David, King of Scots, enthroned, with sceptre and royal arms, and on the reverse the ancient fancy of a goat leaping up to a fruit-bearing tree. The charge of the arms of the royal burgh of Inverness, on the seal of 1439, is not on a shield. It is a representation of our Lord on the Cross. On the reverse, the Virgin crowned and enthroned, with the Child and sceptre, attended by the radiant sun and crescent moon. The

throne here is adorned with terminal heads of animals. Inverkeithing burgh, co. Fife, had on its first Common seal of the fourteenth century a crowned king, perhaps William the Lion, holding the conventional emblem of a founder, a model of a church; on the reverse a galley or lymphad. Irvine, co. Ayr, a royal burgh, used the figure of the Virgin holding the Child. Its counterseal is a lion sejant guardant holding a sword and sceptre, perhaps the royal crest. A later seal places the lion between two trees and other devices. The burgh of Jedburgh, co. Roxburgh, also depicted the Virgin and Child. Its first Common seal, fourteenth century, shows the Coronation of the Virgin, with the Almighty Father, the moon, stars, and triplets of pellets, all within an elaborate quatrefoil panel. Kilrenny, a royal burgh of co. Fife, devoted to the fishery industry, has a curious Common seal on which is seen a rowing-boat on waves with a fisherman letting down a hooked line. The sun here, also, is in a cloudy sky. The legend is in barbarous Latin: 'SEMPER · TIBI · PENDIAT · HAMUS · KILRENNY': perhaps there is a hidden meaning in the words. Kinghorn, a royal burgh in the same county, shows St. Leonard on its first seal, on its second a castle front, with closed portal and turrets. Kinloss, co. Elgin, for the Regality seal designs the Virgin and Child, with composite emblem of bell, saltire, and pastoral staff. Kintore, co. Aberdeen, bears a fructed tree for its royal burgh Common seal.

Kirkcudbright assumed in the fifteenth century a shield of curious arms: St. Cuthbert holding the dissevered head of St. Oswald in a galley. A later seal bears a ship with flags charged with St. Andrew's cross, that at the stern surcharged with a lion rampant. Lanark burgh and city had several seals. The principal *motif* in them is the double-headed eagle displayed, and there are other emblems with it. Lauder, a royal burgh, co. Berwick, depicts the Virgin and Child: Leith places these divine personages on a ship, and adds a canopy overhead; and for its Kirk Sessions' seal, 1598, gives

a representation of the church with churchyard filled with slabs, the royal arms crowned, over the doorway; a second seal, 1608, giving the church, five tombs, and above the roof three stars. Linlithgow's Royal Burgh seals have for their principal device a greyhound, perhaps by way of rebus on the final part of the name. In one seal an angel on a mount supports a shield bearing a hound chained to a tree on waves. A fourteenth-century seal has for its counterseal the combat of Michael and the Dragon, with a legend which resembles that of the Leper-house in the town:—

'COLLOCET IN CELIS NOS OMNES VIS MICHAELIS.'

Melrose, burgh of barony, had a fourteenth-century 'cokete' seal of royal armorial design. Montrose, on its thirteenth-century Common seal, bears a *rose* or cinquefoil, on a later seal an eight-leaved rose, and finally a double *rose en soleil.* Nairn, a sainted bishop: Newhaven, the Virgin and Child, with royal arms: North Berwick, co. Haddington, a galley of fishermen with lion rampant, crowned head, pennon of St. Andrew, and radiant sun illumining the motto: 'VICTORIÆ · GLORIA · MERCES.' Paisley figures its patron bishop, St. Mirinus, and adds heraldic bearings. Peebles gives a coat of arms and inscription: 'CONTRANANDO · INCREMENTUM.'

The royal burgh of Perth bore on a seal once attached to a deed dated 1296, in the Record Office, London, on the obverse an arcade containing under the central arch St. John Baptist's effigy, standing with the Agnus Dei in his hand between two kneeling monks on each side. In base two wyverns with tails nowed. The reverse gives the scene of the Decollation of the Saint in the presence of the daughter of Herodias, under an architectural edifice. Also on the two later seals is the eagle rising charged on the breast with a shield of the arms of the town, a Holy Lamb with cross-staff and banner-flag of St. Andrew, all within a tressure of Scotland. Pittenweem,

co. Fife, used the galley type, the vessel bearing a figure of St. Augustine, paddled by mariners, and having on the flag a lion rampant. The later seal added the motto 'DEO · DUCE.' Prestwick, co. Ayr, a burgh of barony, placed on its fifteenth-century seal a niched effigy of St. Ninian with a triple-towered castle and a leafy bough. South Queensferry, in co. Linlithgow, a royal burgh, used the effigy of St. Margaret, crowned Queen of Scots, with sceptre, and in base a small ship. The work is poor and coarse. A later seal shows the royal lady standing in a boat, and on the reverse an erroneous heraldic design, viz. on a cross fleury between four martlets, a martlet. This is intended to, and does to some extent only, stand for the arms of King Edward the Confessor, great-uncle of the saint. Renfrew, royal burgh, had a fifteenth-century Common seal, with the ship or galley type, the vessel carrying two shields of arms, and accompanied by the sun-star and crescent. The Common seal of the burgh of Rosmarkie, counties Ross and Cromarty, is of archaic appearance, and bears an effigy of St. Peter.

Rothesay, in the Isle of Bute, had an interesting seal, upwards of two inches in diameter. On the one side is an embattled castle between sun and moon, in base a galley or lymphad; on the other side, upon a staff, a shield of arms of Stuart, viz. a fess chequy. The legend properly reads

'VILLA · DE · ROTHISSA · LIBERIUS · DATUR · PER · ROBERTUM · STUART · REGEM · SCOTORU[M],'

in reference to the more free confirmation of the original liberties and privileges of a royal burgh on this town by King Robert III. in 1401. There is a later seal on which the same devices are combined and empaled in one shield. Rutherglen, co. Lanark, had a seal of the fourteenth century, bearing on the obverse an effigy of the Virgin and Child between two thurifer angels, on the

reverse a galley navigated by two seamen. The legends are respectively:

'SIGNANT · ISTA · TRIA · RATA · NAVIS · NAUTA · MARIA · FIRMUM · TRANQUILLUM · DE · RUGLEN · JUNGE · SIGILLUM.'

St. Monans, a burgh of barony, co. Fife, adopted the boat type, the vessel handled by four men casting a net: to which is added the crest and motto of the Leslies: 'GRIP · FAST,' and in base 'MARE · VIVIMUS.' St. Andrews, royal burgh of Fifeshire, had several seals. One, of the fifteenth century, shows a bishop enthroned, standing on a wyvern between two others, one of which is coronetted, all within a tressure of Scotland. On the reverse is St. Andrew, crucified, and a wild boar beneath a tree, all within a similar tressure. The motto, 'CURSUS · APRI · REGALIS,' refers to the venatorial origin of the city. The boar appears again on a later seal. The University delineates St. Andrew on the saltire, a teacher with pupils, and armorials. St. Saviour's College depicts the Saviour as Judge of the Universe, with heraldry; St. Leonard's College represents the eponymic patron of the Institution; the Theological College has an allegorical design of Religion vanquishing a skeleton, leaning on a tau cross, and receiving the Book of Inspiration. The choristers of Holy Trinity Church had a sixteenth-century seal on which is a shield bearing a death's-head and thigh-bone, with a badly spelled motto: 'MORYERIS.' Selkirk, a royal burgh, had on its fifteenth-century Common seal the effigy of the Virgin Mary with the Child, and armorials. The background is replenished with trees in reference to the supposed meaning of the name of the town, *Sel-kirk*, 'forest · church.'

Stirling, a royal burgh, had an interesting thirteenth-century Common seal, measuring upwards of three inches in diameter. On the one side is a bridge over a river, thereon is our Lord on the cross, attended by the sun and moon, and set between two opposing groups each of three

combatants, the one with spears, the other with bows. It is believed to refer to the victory of the Scots under Wallace over the English, and the legend appears to bear this out, although several interpretations have been made:

'HIC · ARMIS · BRUTI · SCOTI · STANT · HIC · CRUCE · TUTI.'

The reverse bears a triple-towered castle and a lawn with trees in the foreground, to explain the *nemus* of the legend:

'CONTINET · HOC · IN · SE · NEMUS · ET · CASTRUM · STRIVELINSE.'

A later seal shows an animal, either wolf or lamb, in a thicket or *nemus*. The 'cokete' seal of the regality of Stratherne, an ancient district of Perthshire, used by David Stuart, Earl of Stratherne, in 1374, employs a shield of compounded arms, the fess chequy of Stuart, between the two chevrons of Stratherne, within a double tressure flory-counterflory of Scotland, within an elaborate trefoil panel. The royal burgh of Tain, counties Ross and Cromarty, gives on its seal an effigy of its patron St. Duthac, Duffus, or Duthus, and that of the burgh of barony of Thurso, co. Caithness, one of St. Peter with two keys. There are many other local seals of Scotland, but the above mentioned are some of the best and very typical. By their light most of the others not here described can be deciphered and understood.

CHAPTER XVI

SCOTTISH HERALDRY AND DEVICES

SCOTTISH Heraldic seals, that is seals bearing armorial charges, generally upon shields or helmets, but occasionally without the shield or other indication of an heraldic nature, obey much the same rules as do the heraldic seals of England. But there is an indefinable character about Scottish seals of arms which can only be learned by constantly examining the specimens. The shields are not so deeply cut in the matrix, nor so delicately drawn as in the English examples, and there is a peculiar provincialism in the proportions of the charges which varies from the English ideas. This in some instances amounts almost to a ruggedness befitting the wild nature of some parts of the country. Like the English, on the other hand, they follow the same chronology, being rare before the middle of the twelfth century, gradually becoming more numerous, more elaborate, and better in design and execution until the early years of the sixteenth century, when the art wanes, and decadence and deterioration in most cases sets in. There are many works on the subject of Scottish armorial seals, Astle and Laing have recorded numerous examples, and writers on Scottish Pedigrees, Genealogies, and Family Histories have generally devoted attention to this subject in their several works, while the works issued by such literary clubs as the Bannatyne Club, the Grampian Club, the Spalding Club, the Scottish History Society, and the Ayrshire and Galloway Archæological Association, will be found to contain much information and good illustrations of such

seals. The Catalogue of Seals preserved in the Department of MSS. in the British Museum records a large number of these relics, many of which were acquired from the collections formed by the late Henry Laing, to whom the principal owners of charters and family archives in Scotland threw open their muniment-rooms. The recent work by Mr. W. R. Macdonald, Carrick Pursuivant, catalogues about three thousand heraldic seals of Scotland, including such ecclesiastical and monastic seals as have shields of arms among their subordinate details. Among the principal repertories of armorial seals of Scotland may be mentioned the charters collected by David Laing and bequeathed to Edinburgh University, those in the General Register House in that city; the Swinton Collection deposited in the same House; the Coldingham Charters—an exceedingly valuable series—belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Durham; the charters and detached seals and the Hutton Casts, preserved by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; the late Sir William Fraser's collection of charters and seals; and those in possession of several towns in the kingdom. The wax used in Scotland is generally of an uncoloured or self-coloured tint, often faced with a layer of bright red where the impression from the matrix is to be stamped on the mass. In this respect it resembles that of some that belong to England, and some that come from European countries. The legends of the earlier seals are for the most part rudely cut and wanting in elegance of symmetry, but the later seals, after the taste for English and French models had sprung up, approach very near to their models in the excellence of their *ensemble*.

Passing in review these armorial and heraldic remains in a general alphabetical order, and noting peculiarities as we proceed, it will be seen that while the earlier seals in point of date confine their design to a shield, either upright or *couché*, that is slightly oblique or slopingly placed, as the age goes forward a crest on a helmet is

added, a lambrequin is given to the helmet, supporters make their appearance, a motto is inscribed on a liston or escrol, the backgrounds are adorned or replenished with trees or two, three, or more sprigs of foliage and flowers, occasionally a badge is introduced, and, like contemporary English seals, they become more intricate and elaborate both as to the heraldry and to the ornamentation.

The seal of William Abercrombie, in 1296, is a good example of armorial bearings not on a shield, a boar's head couped between a crescent in chief and in base an estoile. Sir George Abernethy, in 1368, places his shield within a pointed trefoil panel. Malcolm, Earl of Angus, 1214-1242, bears a heart-shaped shield, on which the charge is a lion passant guardant. Alexander of Argyll, Lord of Lorn, in 1292, allows his armorial charge to run beyond the limit of the shield. It is a lymphad, with the head of a dragon at each end, but the mast extends beyond the shield and forms the cross which we look for at the beginning of the legend. Alan of Argyll, valet of the royal household of England, also adopted the dragon or wyvern at the side of his shield, by way of an early supporter, in 1319. Helias de Ayton, in the thirteenth century, used the device of an eagle displayed, not on a shield; but, as Waldevus de Ayton puts the same device on a shield, we may assume that the seal of Helias is heraldic. The shield of Eustace de Balliol, a knight, about 1190, is charged with an escarbuncle, possibly the forerunner of the orle which is the more generally known charge of the family, but it may be that this escarbuncle, which certainly has little in common with the appearance of an orle accompanied by a central umbo, as borne by his son, is quite an arbitrary design derived from the metal strips employed to strengthen the leathern target for defensive purposes in battle. Alexander de Balliol, in an equestrian seal of 1293, decorates his horse with a plume of feathers. Alexander Barclay, of co. Forfar, used in 1444 a crest of a stag's head, but this appears also to be an individual

bearing not followed on other seals of the family. Alexander Barron, a bailie, adds to his shield and crest the motto 'IN · TYM · BE · VER.' David Beaton, in 1286, suspends his shield from a tree between two wyverns sans wings, the prototype of the armorial supporter. Robert Beaton does the like in 1296. James Bell, Baron of Broughton, in 1604, gives a good example of a late heraldic seal with supporters, consisting of two allegorical figures of Peace with a palm-leaf, and Justice with sword and balance.

Elizabeth Bisset or Bysete, in 1280, as Lady of Kelrevock and late wife of Andrew de Bosco, places on her seal two lions combatant between four shields each bearing a bend. An angel holds up the shield of arms of John Boncle, in 1449, an idea perhaps borrowed from the design often found on Belgian and Low Countries' seals. In 1464 the same idea is found on the heraldic seal of Sir Edward Boncle, first provost of Trinity College Church, Edinburgh. Sir William Borthwick of Borthwick, knight, puts, in 1398, on his armorial shield, *couché*, a helmet crested with a griffin's head, and adds two lions sejant for supporters. Long before this date, crests had come into use. But they 'were a novelty,' we are told by Sir H. Maxwell in his preface to the *Scalacronica* just published (1907), 'in the attire of a knight in the fourteenth century. Barbour says that they were first seen in the campaign of Weardale, 1327, and mentions them as one of *twa novelryis*, the other being cannon.' William, fourth Lord Borthwick, in 1522 modified the supporters into two lions sejant guardant *coués*. Robert Boyd of Kilmarnock, afterwards Lord Boyd, to his arms and crest adds, in 1452, as supporters, two squirrels, which were also borne by Robert, the fourth lord, in 1575. Robert Broughton, on a seal not dated but probably of the thirteenth century, used a double-headed eagle displayed, not on a shield, and perhaps not truly armorial. An angel supports the armorial seal of William Bronclerk, or Clerk, one of the bailies of Edinburgh in 1515. On her seal, in 1280,

the elegant effigy of Lady Margaret Bruce of Kendal, daughter of Peter de Bruce of Skelton, and wife of Robert de Ros of Wark, holds up the shields of arms of her husband and her father. The counterseal of Robert Bruce, the Competitor, in 1291, bears a shield in a cusped panel with the field ornamented with flowers and foliage.

Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, in 1285, places his shield between two wyverns. Marjory, his Countess, in the same year, hangs her shield to a tree. In this she is followed by her son, Robert, afterwards King of Scots, 1306-1329. The shield of Thomas Bullyn, Canon of Glasgow, in 1460, is upheld by an angel. That of John, Earl of Caithness, in 1296, has a hare above it, and two wyverns at the sides, perhaps intended for a crest and supporters. Hugh Calder is credited, in 1528, with armorials not on a shield: a stag's head cabossed, that is seen from the front, the attires within a circle which perhaps stands for a buckle, one of the family charges. The Campbells used the crest of a boar's head and two lions for supporters, the latter not always in the same heraldic pose. Archibald Campbell, the ill-fated Lord of Lorn, and Marquess of Argyll, executed in 1661, bore the motto 'NE · OBLIVISCARIS,' equivalent to the humbler vernacular 'Dinna forget.' Dugald Campbell, or M'Coull, in 1528, suspends the family shield of arms on the mast of a lymphad. Sir Colin Campbell, knight, of Glenurquhay, changes, in 1556, the usual supporters to two stags, and Hugh Campbell, first Lord of Loudoun, has for a crest, in 1610, a double-headed eagle, and for supporters two stags 'on a compartment of grass.' His motto was 'I · BYD · MY · TYM.' Alan, Lord Cathcart, in 1450, used for a crest the design of a maiden's bust, and for supporters two wood-women or savages.

The crest borne by some of the family of Chalmers on their armorial seals is a plume of three or two feathers, and on a fifteenth-century seal two lions sejant guardant appear as supporters. Mariota, daughter of Reginald de Chen of Inverugie, and wife of John Keith, surrounded

her heraldic seal in 1390 with seven annulets, and placed the whole within a trefoil. Alexander Cockburn, in 1375, adopted the method of placing his shield, *couché*, crested, in a carved panel enriched along the inner edge with ball-flowers, which had become a favourite detail with architectural sculptors at this time. William Cockburn, in the fourteenth century, adorns his two supporters, lions sejant, with a mantling round the neck, charged with three buckles, and introduces two triple-flowered rose-branches into the background. A double quatrefoil encloses the armorial bearings of John Cullace, or de Culas, in 1340, on a seal preserved among the Newbattle Charters.

The supporters of the family arms of Colquhoun, in two instances, 1475 and 1535, are two dogs, in the former case greyhounds, in the latter, talbots. James, first Lord Colville of Culross, 1604-1620, supports his shield of arms with a savage or woodman, and an antelope *coué*. William Crab of Aberdeen, 1499, places on a tilting helmet over his shield a human head in profile between two wings erect; his supporters are two swans or herons with open wings. Thomas de Kranebroun, or Cranburn, in a seal of the fourteenth century style, descends to a rebus, and takes the crest of a *crane's* neck, on a helmet with mantling. Reginald Crawford, 1296, places over his arms a fox passant, and at each side a hound courant. William Crichton, 1440, supports his crested shield with a maiden on the dexter side only. Robert, second Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, 1502, crests his shield with a parrot's head on a helmet with mantling. The third Lord, William, used helmet and mantling but no crest. Henry Crichton, in 1525, over his shield *couché*, places a helmet with mantling, and for crest a mermaid furnished, as usually is the case, with mirror and comb. Alexander Commin or Cumming, second Earl of Buchan, about 1240-1289, took a fan-plume of seven feathers on his helmet for a crest, and puts the same device on the head of his caparisoned warhorse.

John Cumming, or Comyn, discards the shield in his remarkable armorial seal of an eagle displayed with three garbs (the charge of this family), one on its breast and one on each wing. This is an interesting example of the heraldic art about the year 1300. William Comin's shield is held up by the beak of a bird, all set in a pointed Gothic trefoil, in 1290. Somewhat similar in conception is the design used by Alexander Cumyn, Lord of Buchan, in 1297, who places his armorials on a shield on the breast of an eagle displayed, with three small pellets at each side of its head. Edmund Comin surrounds his shield of arms, in a seal of about the year 1300, with three wyverns, which are favourite heraldic creatures of fanciful origin and obscure symbolism. They are seen on seals of all countries and of various dates. Alexander Cunningham, fifth Earl of Glencairn, 1547, takes the crest of a unicorn's head, in 1556, on a coroneted helmet, and for supporters has recourse, as did also David Cunningham, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1577-1603, to the rebus of two *conies*, or rabbits, an erroneous derivation for the family surname. Nigel Cunningham, Lord of Yester, in 1374, places his shield in a pointed trefoil with ball-flowered edgings. David Cunningham, 1500, takes, by way of supporters, two pelicans *in piety*, as the heralds describe the action of the bird vulning or wounding its breast to feed its young with its own blood, according to the traditional habit of the pelican, which is hereby taken to be an emblem of our Lord. The motto here is 'MISERERE · MEI · DOMINE.' The supporters of the heraldic seal of James Dalrymple, first Viscount Stair, 1690-1695, are two storks, each with a serpent in its beak, and the motto is ironical: 'QUIESCAM.'

The Douglas family were rich in finely designed seals, some of considerable size. That of William, Lord, and afterwards Earl of Douglas about 1357 and of Mar about 1374, suspends his shield, in 1356, by the strap to a tree and sets it in a carved Gothic panel. Earl William also in another seal, 1369, supported his shield with a lion

rampant behind it, having a helmet on its head with crest of a plume of feathers. A third seal gives two lions sejant for supporters, helmeted and crested with a plume. Behind these are two trees. The background is *diapré*. Other members of the family use somewhat similar designs. Sir Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, crests his shield with a tower embattled, wherefrom issues a peacock's head holding in the beak a scroll bearing the motto 'WHAT · TYDE.' The same noble personage used, on another seal, 1393, two woodmen or savages as supporters. These supporters figure on other seals of the earls. Archibald, fifth Earl, took two angels to support his shield of arms. James Douglas, third Earl of Angus, 1437-1446, had a seal which closely resembles that of Walter Stewart, Earl of Atholl, 1403-1437. The crest is a plume of feathers; the supporters a stag kneeling, and a maiden wreathed, and reclining with a flower in her hand. There is a tree behind each supporter, and the whole design is set in a 'park,' fenced with wattle and having trees at intervals, and a rabbit, or cony, at each side. George, the fourth Earl, follows this design. Archibald, eighth Earl, puts on his coroneted helmet a salamander for a crest. His motto, also adopted by his successors, is 'IAMAIS · ARRIERE.' All these Douglas seals, and many which want of space prevents us from mentioning, are of great interest for the beauty of their design and the true Scottish art feeling which they exhibit. The family of Drummond was also noted for its fine seals. Various crests were used, among others an eagle's head and wings and a talbot's head. For supporters the two woodmen or savages, sometimes holding clubs, appear to be favoured, and there is one seal showing the eagle displayed bearing the shield of arms on its breast, and thus becoming a kind of supporter.

The Dunbars had several interesting seals; many of the equestrian type have shields of arms as component parts of the armour. The crest used by Patrick Dunbar, second Earl of March, 1334, is a tower embattled, where-

out is issuing the half-length figure of a maiden, undraped, with flowing hair, holding a coronet in each hand: at each side of the tower is the head and forepart of a lion resting one of its gambs, or paws, on the helmet which carries the crest. The same earl, in 1357, used the crest of a horse's head bridled, the supporters being two men in doublets with pointed cap and tall feather. In another seal we observe the *panache* or fan-plume both on the helmet and the horse's head. Alexander, third son of Patrick Dunbar, seventh earl, who flourished in 1331, took for his arms a lion rampant within a royal tressure, and suspends the shield by the strap from a branch, with two roses at the sides. His son also adopted the royal tressure, 1352, and placed the shield within a rose of tracery having eight cusps.

George, tenth Earl of Dunbar, has two lions sejant to support his shield, *couché*, and the background is nicely diapered on seals of 1369, 1371, and other years to 1428, the eleventh earl of the same name then using the later seal of this type. Another branch of the Dunbar family, Earls of Moray, used the crest of a stag's head, but the lion supporters were retained. Here the armorial bearings were the three cushions of Randolph within a royal tressure. Sir William Edmondston of Duntreath, Justice-General of Scotland, 1470, takes the crest of a horse's head on a coroneted helmet, and supports his shield of arms with two lions rampant. The woodmen or wildmen, favourite Scottish emblems, appear again as supporters for members of the family of Elphinstone in the fifteenth century and afterwards. But James Elphinstone, Lord Coupar, supports his armorial bearings in the seal of 1620 with two winged stags. The Erskines had several crests, a boar's head, a griffin's head, neck, and wings, a swan's head or neck and wings, a dexter hand holding a scimitar, and in 1663 a demi-lion rampant. The supporters are in some cases two griffins. A favourite motto for the members of this family is 'JE · PANS · PLUS' or 'JE · PANSE · PLUS.' The Flem-

ings had several good heraldic seals. That of Malcolm Fleming, who became Earl of Wigtown in 1341, gives the shield of arms in a pointed quatrefoil with hunting subjects, hawk and heron, dog and stag, in the four spaces.

The noble family of Fraser can show a goodly array of armorial seals. The crest in some is a stag's head, in one a maiden's head and neck, draped and hooded. Sir Peter Fraser, 1705, has two stags for supporters. The Gordons, another noble family of Scotland, have left many interesting seals to delight the antiquary and herald. Here the crests are a boar's head with long neck between wings, and a stag's head with a wreath of roses about the neck; the supporters, two greyhounds, and two savages with clubs occur among the seals. The Graham family are also able to show many fine seals with armorial bearings, and crests of a vulture's head, a peacock's head, a falcon trussing a heron, a hound's head, a stag's head cabossed, an eagle's head and wings, a phœnix in flames, and other devices. John Graham, in 1309, places three wyverns about his shield of arms. The Grays appear to have used the crest of a swan's neck. Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen, 1390, supports his shield of arms by an angel holding it up in front. Alexander Guthrie, 1503, has the crest of a lady's head with tall conical headgear. Hamilton is another noble family of Scotland which possessed very numerous heraldic seals with various crests. The crest not being, like the arms on the shield, so exclusive in its use by a family, it could be altered at will; and although we find in some cases the same crest used by consecutive representatives of the same family, on the other hand we find the same person used several crests, and the crests varying in successive generations, which is, of course, quite a correct proceeding from the point of view of heraldic practice. Robert Haliman, on his armorial seal among the Durham Charters, in 1304, places a rose between two radiant estoiles and an increscent above the

shield, and two estoiles at the sides. The family of Hamilton possessed many seals of much variety and interest. The crests used by the several members are not uniform: on some the boar's head, or a tree with the horns of an antelope sawing through it; on others the oak-tree traversed by a frame-saw, the more usual crest; two dexter-hands issuing from clouds, clasped and grasping a laurel branch; a goat's head and a lion's head. Many of these seals are ornamented with fine tracery symmetrically disposed, and the supporters—two antelopes—often occur, but occasionally other supporters are met with, for these, like crests, may be changed at will.

Sir Edmund Hastings, Lord of Inchmahome, places, in 1301, a wyvern sans wings above his shield of arms. The Hays are rich in old seals, and use various crests to accompany the usual armorial bearings of the family. One crest is worthy of notice. It is that of Sir William Hay of Naughton, knight, who had a mermaid holding a mirror, and in the background a river flowing between trees. The Hepburn seals are numerous, and the family motto, 'KEIP TRYST,' occurs on some of them. Those of the family of Home and Hume supply many fine examples covering several centuries. The same may be said of many other noble Scottish families. William Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland, 1350-1407, ornaments the field of his armorial shield with a diaper lozengy, and encloses it in a panel or rosette of elaborate tracery. Robert Keith, in 1442, also Great Marischal, used by way of supporters a tree of foliage and flowers growing on a mount on each side of the shield, *couché*. The Keith crests are varied, and the mottoes include 'DEUS · MEUS · ME · ADSIT,' and a doubtful 'VERITAS · VINCIT.' Kerr is another noble Scots family, rich in seals with armorial bearings and crests. Robert, second Earl of Lothian, 1617, had for supporters an angel and a unicorn. Other members of this family have two savages or woodmen with clubs. Sir Adam de Kilconquhar, knight, third Earl of Carrick in right of his wife

Marjory, daughter of Nigel, second Earl, appears to have marked his accession to the honour of knighthood by putting on his seal the figure of the lady with flowing dress, holding a pennon ensigned with a cross, and presenting a shield of arms to an armed knight on horseback who is receiving it. John de Laundel, or Landale, son of William Laundel of Teviotdale, had a cleverly designed seal, with a stag's head cabossed, between an estoile and a cinquefoil; the shield of arms is set between the antlers or attires. The date of the deed among the Melrose Charters, which bears this interesting design, is 1224. Another member of the same family, Freskin de Landeles, copies this device with a slight alteration, in 1296. The Lauders yield many good seals of arms.

The Lenoxes or Lennoxes, in old times Levenax, used the adjunct of Gothic tracery and the device of a tree to which the shield was suspended. The family of Leslie also show good seals with variable crests and supporters. One crest is an angel's head with opened wings; another a dexter-hand and arm erect, holding a sword. Margaret Leslie (daughter of Sir Walter Leslie and Euphemia, Countess of Ross, and grand-daughter of William, sixth Earl of Ross), wife of Donald Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, used in 1440 the device of a lady beneath a Gothic canopy, supporting with each hand a shield which is set on the back of a dragon standing on a plinth, or pedestal, beneath a side canopy. The arms are those of the Isles and of Ross. The noble family of Lindsay contributes nearly seventy armorial examples to the known series of Scottish heraldic seals, and many of them are of very good execution. Sir David, son of Sir Alexander Lindsay of Crawford, in 1346, employed a fine design of tracery forming a star of eight points, and set thereon an eagle displayed with a shield of arms on its breast. The early crest appears to be the swan's neck and the supporters two lions; in one case at least the lions have the head and face of a woman. The feathers of the heron or the ostrich accompany the crest or supporters

in some seals. David, eleventh Earl of Crawford, 1574-1607, varied the crest by using a swan passant holding a ring in its beak. John, twentieth Earl, 1713-1749, has for supporters a lion sejant and a griffin segreant, while the supporters are two griffins, in 1390, for Sir William Lindsay of the Byres, who died in 1424, and for John his son, in 1456, in common with other later members of the family. Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, knight, son of David, ninth Earl of Crawford, in 1589, had a helmet and mantling over his shield of arms, but no crest. The motto, 'DUM · SPIRO · SPERO,' of this knight, is a variant from the usual one of 'ENDURE · FORT,' more frequently found. The Livingstons had many armorial seals. George, third Earl of Linlithgow and Lord of Livingston, in West Lothian, in 1682, puts on his shield of quartered arms an escutcheon in surtout, charged with two trees growing out of a base for the title of Linlithgow. The crest is a demi-savage holding a serpent, and the supporters two savages each holding a serpent. The supporters for Sir James Livingston, Earl of Calendar, in 1641, are two lions rampant guardant on a seal of 1649. William Livingston varies the crest by composing it of two serpents fessways nowed, in 1459, and James Livingston of Brownle, in 1517, varies it again by using two demi-serpents erect. Another member of the family, conjectured to be Patrick, of Benholme, used the surtout of an oak-tree growing out of the base, within a bordure charged with eight gilly-flowers for the title of Earl of Linlithgow, 1680. Walter Logan, like some other arms-bearing personages already mentioned, in 1296, sets his shield of arms between the attires of a stag's head cabossed. Roger Lumsden uses the device, 1326, of a hawk preying on a fish, but as this is not on a shield it may not be heraldic. Patrick Lyon, Lord Glamis, had the crest of a maiden with flowing hair, between two sleeved arms embowed and raised above her head. John, seventh Lord, 1543, used the crest of a lion salient contourné, that is, turned to the

right-hand instead of the usual heraldic left-hand. Angus Macdonald of the Isles, who died about 1292, had on his seal a lymphad or small boat with four mariners therein. This is not on a shield, but Alexander, his eldest son, who died about 1303, and other successors used the same design with variations and additional details as armorial bearings. We have here, therefore, a pre-heraldic type. The armorial bearings of the Maitlands, Mackenzies, Mars, Macintoshes, and many other noble families are corroborated by the seals of the respective families, and serve as valuable proofs of the antiquity of their bearings. The Maxwells have very good heraldic designs on their seals. Robert, first Earl of Nithsdale, 1637, delineated a double-headed eagle displayed charged on its breast with a shield or escutcheon of arms, and adds the family motto, 'I · BIDE · YE · FAIR.' Herbert Maxwell, about 1296, puts wyverns at the top and sides of his shield, and sets all within a quatrefoil panel. There are several differentiations of the arms of this family, but the saltire is the principal and oldest charge. Sir John Menteith, younger son of Walter Stewart, fifth Earl of Menteith, believed by some to be probably the betrayer of the patriot Wallace, puts his shield on the breast of a double-headed eagle, a somewhat favourite practice in Scottish heraldry at the close of the thirteenth century, and later, as in the seal of Master John Methuen, Provost of Lincluden and King's Secretary, 1438. John de Menteith used, in 1496, the crest of a swan's neck between wings. Sir Robert Menzies of that Ilk, knight, in 1511, possessed a seal on which was a man in armour, kneeling on one knee, holding a spear and a shield of arms; on his head a helmet crested with the bust of a maiden, front face, veiled, holding up a chaplet. The background of this interesting seal is diapered with foliage. There is another seal of Sir Robert Menzies of that Ilk, in 1539, designed after a somewhat similar type. The Montgomery family had fine seals; one of Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton, 1546,

had for crest a half-length female figure, holding an anchor and what seems to be the head of a savage; the supporters are wyverns with dart-shaped tongues. Hugh, the fifth Earl, has a very similar design on his armorial seal. The crests of this family vary from time to time, like those of many other families. The Murray family, in like manner, contribute many notable examples to the heraldic series of Scottish seals, with varying crests. Sir John Murray, in 1296, places his shield in a pointed quatrefoil panel. Alan Murray, 1320, suspends his shield by a guige between two wyverns. Johanna Murray, Countess of Douglas and Lady of Galloway, married to Sir Thomas Murray, and secondly to Sir Archibald Douglas, bears, in 1401, on her seal, two shields supported by an angel. Patrick Noble, in 1296, depicts a lady with the right hand on the breast and holding the Agnus Dei in the left, and standing on two shields.

The Ogilvie family used numerous seals of arms, the crest generally consisting of a lady's head, sometimes attired with a horned head-dress. Walter Ogilvie, of Dunlugus, in a Floors charter of 1542, has the half-length figure of a lady, holding before her a shield of her family arms. The Oliphants and the Otterburns adopt rebuses of an *elephant* and an *otter* respectively in their heraldry of the 'canting' style, which seeks to suggest the surname by the nature of the principal charge. Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester, 1220, was Constable of Scotland and Lord of Galloway by marriage with Helen, eldest daughter and a co-heir of Alan, Lord of Galloway. His seal has already been mentioned. There is an impression of it among the Holyrood Charters. Mary de Ramsay, or de Rames, second wife of Sir David de Brechin, places on her armorial seal, in 1320, three shields of arms with their bases to the centre, within a cusped trefoil panel. The arms belong to the families of Ramsay, Cumming, and Brechin. William de Ramsay also adorns his armorial

seal with tracery in 1357. Thomas Randolph, created Earl of Moray, about 1314, set his shield of arms in a finely carved double-pointed quatrefoil panel, in which is placed a lion rampant in each of the four lobes. Another Thomas of this family, who died about 1294, ornaments his heraldic seal with a trefoil panel adorned with annulets in the spandrels. The Lady Isabella of Dunbar, daughter of Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, wife of Sir Patrick de Dunbar, and mother of George, tenth Earl of Dunbar, is believed to have presented the earliest known example of impaling coats of arms by so marshalling, in 1352, the Dunbar and Randolph bearings, the royal tressure which belongs to each coat being here in each case complete and not dimidiated as would have been the practice in later times. An angel supports the shield of arms of James Reid of Broxmouth, in 1478.

The Ross family is represented by several seals of fine workmanship; the three water-budgets are the most usual charges borne by the members, but they are subject to differences and additions. One branch of the family bears three lions rampant, with various differences. The Countess Eufemia de Ross, daughter of William, sixth Earl, married firstly, before 1365, to Sir Walter de Lesley, and secondly, about 1382, to Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, called the 'Wolf of Badenoch,' fourth son of King Robert II., and dead about 1394, had a beautifully designed seal wherein an eagle bears on its breast and wings the three shields of Ross, Leslie, and Cumming, for the earldom of Buchan. The Ruthven and Sandilands seals are interesting, and those of the Scott family, which are very numerous, include an ornamental example of tracery in Sir William Scott's seal of 1412. Scrymgeour, Sempill, Seton, and Sinclair are other Scottish families whose seals are attractive for their thorough Scottish art and feeling. The Royal family of Stewart, or Stuart, taken with its various legitimate or natural branches and cadet lines, contributes upwards of a hundred and fifty heraldic seals to the series, and com-

prises many beautiful examples of the best interest both for their historical and artistic value. The employment of tracery in the form of rosette or panels; the angel supporter; the eagle displayed charged on the breast with a shield; and the various enhancements set around the shields, all add to the charm of these fine seals, many of which bear in addition to shields both crests and heraldic supporters. A separate work might be advantageously written about the seals of the Stewarts alone.

One remarkable seal must be mentioned. It is that of an unidentified Richard Stewart, or Senescallus, of the fourteenth century. The design is a one-masted ship on waves, and flying a pennon with St. George's cross on it, which with other peculiarities appears to refer to England rather than to Scotland. The details of the rigging, and the raised galley with standards or poles, are very curious. At one end is the St. George's cross on the standard, at the other standard is a quarterly coat bearing, one and four, a lion rampant within a bordure, and two and three chequy, which two coats of arms appear certainly to appertain to Scottish heraldry. The crests of the Stewarts are very diverse, and the supporters appear in some cases to be very arbitrary. The families of Stirling, Strachan, Sutherland, and others, have also contributed to this class many beautiful seals. Eleanor de Umfraville, Countess of Angus, second wife of Earl Robert, and afterwards of Roger Mauduit, introduced into her armorial seal, before 1357, when her death is believed to have taken place, four shields of arms set in cross with their points towards the centre. Gilbert de Umfraville, titular Earl of Angus, in 1379, employed a fine seal of arms within a carved cinquefoil panel ornamented with carving in the spaces between the lobes, and with small quatrefoils or ball-flowers along the inner edge. David Wynchester, a bailie of St. Andrews, in 1524, used the design of a griffin segreant, supporting in its beak the strap of a shield of his paternal arms. John de Vesci, in 1292, places his shield of arms between

three trefoiled sprigs and sets all within a rosette or panel of six cusped points of tracery, with trefoils to fill up vacant spaces. That of William de Vescy, of Lilliesclif, co. Roxburgh, is probably unique. This is a large seal of two inches diameter. The shield of arms, a cross *patonce*, for Vescy, is placed between the impressions of three small antique oval gems engraved in intaglio, which must have made a very beautiful matrix for the owner. The gems bear, according to some, the subjects of a dolphin, a Roman galley, and Romulus and Remus with the fabulous she-wolf. Elizabeth Wishart, Lady of Balmonthe, in 1613, sets her shield of arms within an orle of seven cinquefoils or roses, three above and two at each side. The swan's neck, which seems to be a favourite with Scottish arms-bearing families, appears again on the heraldic seal of Thomas Wemyss, of co. Fife, in 1455.

Among miscellaneous designs and devices, not heraldic, found upon the personal seals of Scottish personages, quite a series of figures of saints occurs, including St. Catharine with her wheel and sword; the Virgin Mary and the Child in a niche of two tiers, with the Temptation of Adam and Eve in the lower division. This belonged to Richard Boulden, an ecclesiastic, in 1292. Our Lord on the Cross between St. Mary and St. John; John Baptist with the Agnus; St. Andrew on his cross between two executioners, and attended by the kneeling figure of the owner of the seal, an ecclesiastic, in the early part of the fourteenth century; the Archangel Michael in combat with the Dragon, in 1295; and St. Helena, crowned, kneeling, and holding the newly found True Cross, on an altar or plinth before which is the owner, William de Sprouston, Vicar of Molle, also in the early fourteenth century, occur. Sometimes the owner places his own effigy on his seal; the early ones are reading at lecterns, or in armour. The original matrix which appertained to Thor Longus of Edenham, co. Roxburgh, is preserved among the antiquities belonging to the

Chapter of Durham. This is a pointed oval seal, about two inches by one and an eighth, and is of the date of 1098 or thereabouts. The owner's effigy is engraved on the seal, draped, and seated, turned slightly to the right, holding a sword obliquely across his breast. Ancient gems were much prized by the Scots in the middle ages. The designs they bear include a group of four figures in a row, draped; a horseman attacking a serpent; a lion with his prey, a goat, in his jaws; a ram with legend, 'JHESUS · NAZARENUS,' perhaps taken as symbolical of the Agnus Dei, which constitutes it an early Christian relic; a laurel-crowned deity; a female head couped at the neck—this is a large and beautiful gem declared by Laing to be similar in character to the celebrated Medusa in the collection of Lord Carlisle—it belonged to 'Thomas de Collevilla, Scotus,' about 1220; a nimbed figure with a long cross; a warrior falling on his knees while another is warding off with a shield an animal of uncertain form—this belonged to Sir John de Lindsay, Lord of Wauchopdale, co. Dumfries, in 1292; an eagle displayed; Victory, Peace, or Bonus Eventus with a cornucopia, 1371; two gems bearing a female head, and a draped figure, set in one matrix, about 1200; two cornucopiæ set saltire-wise; a figure of Athena bearing a Nike or Victory; and lastly we must mention the gem seal of Eustace de Vesci, about 1160, of very beautiful design. This consists of an ornamental device of ears of corn and pods of the vetch, by way of a rebus on the owner's name, between two peacocks or wyverns. In the upper part a deep impression of an antique gem bearing a galley sailing, a water-horse or sea-dragon and a dolphin. The reverse of this bears another gem impression, an antelope, or goat, between four *vetch* pods, by way of rebus, and shows the mark of the handle of the seal.

The miscellaneous devices which do not fall into the above classes, include many interesting objects such as a tonsured bust; a pelican in her piety; crested wyvern, 1230; an eagle displayed, 1338; a double-headed eagle

displayed, late twelfth century; a lymphad on the sea, thirteenth century; a leaf; a rosette; a fleur-de-lis; a griffin segreant designed in a bold and spirited manner for 'Duncan, son of Gilbert,' afterwards first Earl of Carrick, about 1180; two *conies* for Gilbert de Chunysburg, 1292; the Eagle of St. John; a crow or *corbeau* on an elaborate tree for Robert Corbet, about 1170; a tree with two *corbeaux* or crows for Patrick Corbet about the same date; a lion rampant for Reginald de Crauford, 1292; a fantastic gryllus, 1292; merchants' marks of various dates; two birds on a fleur-de-lis; a lion dormant within a double tressure flory, 1292; a horse-shoe and *farrier's* hammer for Alice Ferour in the early fourteenth century; or horse-shoe and nail-head for Margaret Ferour, same date; a hawk and wild boar in combat, 1292; and others. James Graham, fifth Marquess of Montrose, in 1650, used the device of two rocks with (on a shield, but not heraldic) a lion about to spring from one to the other, with the pertinent motto 'NIL · MEDIUM,' which reminds us antithetically of the American poet's verse:

> 'Nothing before, nothing behind,
> The footsteps of faith
> Tread on the seeming void, and find
> The rock beneath.'

The lion and wyvern in combat, 1292, used by William de Ireby, are accompanied with the motto:

'IE · SUY · SEL · DE · AMUR · LEL,'

a favourite expression with English seal-owners. Edward de Lestalrig, in 1180, had a seal bearing an ape riding on his knee upon a lion with other curious details. Duncan Macduff, Earl of Fife, had a hand and arm bearing a sword, probably the precursor of a crest. John de Murray had, in 1250, a bull passing a ford; John de Mundegumri, about 1176, an ornamental fleur-

de-lis. Robert de Muscamp of co. Berwick, about 1220, had a rebus of five flies (*muscæ*), arranged in cross on the field (*campus*); Margaret de Vesci, about 1220, a wyvern between three pods of the *vetch*. Isabella, wife of William Wallace, about 1160, has an eagle with legend: 'FRANGE · ME · DOCEBO · TE,' and William Wallace also uses the device of an eagle, about the same date.

CHAPTER XVII

SOME SEALS RELATING TO IRELAND

IRISH seals do not appear to be very largely represented in cabinets and collections. The few that are extant are, however, well worthy of notice on account of the native talent that most of them display. There are, however, some interesting matrices of old seals still extant. King Henry II. has been said by some to have had an Irish seal, but it is very doubtful if this can be shown to be accurate. It is usually placed (if at all, as by some it is believed to be a forgery) among the Great Seals of England. The king's conquest of Ireland in 1171 added that country to the already vast dominions which he ruled, comprising as well the kingdom of England, the Duchies of Normandy, and Aquitaine or Guyenne, and the countships of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. The defence of his French possessions constantly engaged his attention. The brass matrix of the equestrian seal of Brien, king of a district called Keneleogain, about 1276, with a loop on the edge, was found long ago in a grave in the Minster Yard, Beverley, co. York, and is now preserved in the British Museum. The diameter is about an inch and a half. Donat Macmuracha Da, King of Leinster in the fifteenth century, had a handsome and well-conceived seal; the design, which is heraldic, is set within a quatrefoil panel adorned with ball-flowers, and having trefoiled spandrels each charged with a cinquefoil. The shield of arms, in chief a lion passant, in base two crescents, is supported by two lions rampant, and upheld above and below by a demi-angel. A long interval of time brings us to Queen Elizabeth, whose seal for

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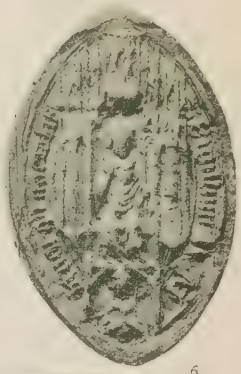

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MISCELLANEOUS SEALS OF IRELAND

Ireland has only recently been added to the known seals of that sovereign. The diameter is four inches. The Queen is seated in majesty on a canopied throne, and between a lion rampant holding a banner-flag charged with a harp for Ireland on the dexter side, and a dragon holding a similar flag charged with three crowns in pale for the kingdom of Ireland, thus corroborating the views of Chalmers (*Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 463). There is an ancient MS. in the British Museum (Harley, 4039) which attributes the charge of three crowns to the kingdom of Munster. The reverse shows an ornamental shield of the royal arms of England supported by a lion and a dragon, accompanied by the rose badge of England, and the harp badge of Ireland. James I.'s seal, which bears his effigy enthroned in majesty, is principally interesting because it bears at the dexter side of the throne a lion rampant guardant crowned, holding a flag charged with a cross pattée fitchée, perhaps for the shamrock, emblem of Ireland, and arms of Cadwallader. The background represents tapestry diapered lozengy with a harp of Ireland in each space. On the reverse or equestrian side, in the field on the left is the Irish harp, ensigned with a crown. The spikes on the housing of the horse, one on the back, another on the forehead, are curious additions to the defensive harness. Oliver Cromwell's seal for Ireland resembles that for the Commonwealth, but the arms are a harp for Ireland, and over all the family escutcheon of Cromwell, and the reverse similarly alters the Commonwealth reverse, and substitutes for London a view of the city of Dublin on the River Liffey with hills in the distance. Richard Cromwell's seal is the same. Charles II.'s seal is very fine. The harp badge of Ireland on the obverse, and the same, crowned, on the reverse, where the city of Dublin on the river with shipping also appears, are its most prominent features. James II. appears to have used the same designs.

George I.'s seal exceeds those that have gone before

in diameter, being five and three-quarter inches. It resembles the Great Seal for Great Britain with introduction of the crowned harp on each side and alteration of the landscape to the city of Dublin on the river. George III.'s seal was prepared for use in Ireland by the similar introduction of the crowned harp. There is a signet of Henry Cromwell, Deputy and Commissioner of the Government in Ireland, 1655; and the Royal Court of Exchequer of Dublin, in the reign of Henry VI., 1442, had a seal the design of which was a three-quarter length effigy of the king with sceptre and orb in a ship on waves, with high embattled fore and aft castles. The Commonwealth seal for the same is armorial with the new-fangled republican armorials, and background replenished with eleven harps and ten saltires alternately arranged in orle, and other eight saltires nearer to the shield. The use of the saltire, which appertains more to Scotland than to Ireland, seems difficult to explain. James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, K.G., 1681-1688, had an official seal of his family arms with legend entituling him Lieutenant-General of Ireland. James II.'s Court of Wards and Liveries resembles the type of that for Great Britain; between the naked orphan boys who hold up the royal shield is a branch bearing a quatrefoil, or shamrock, between two roses of England grafted on one stem. George III.'s seal of the Court of Common Pleas resembles that for Great Britain, with a crowned harp on each side of the shield on the obverse.

The ecclesiastical seals of Ireland include that of the Chapter of Emly, sixteenth or seventeenth century, with a view of the church; John Mothell, Bishop of Limerick's pointed oval seal, 1426-1468, with an effigy of St. Munchin, founder of the See; William King, Dean of St. Patrick, represents the patron saint on his seal in 1690; as also does Dean Edward Smyth, in 1698. Richard Lang, Bishop of Kildare, 1464-1474, has a pointed oval seal attributed to him, bearing the design of the Assumption of the Virgin, between figures conjectured to represent

St. Conlœth, first bishop, and St. Bridget. Laurence Neville, Bishop of Ferns, 1480-1503, depicts St. Edan or Mogue, first bishop. The seal of the Dean and Chapter of Armagh commemorates the Restoration, 1661, with a bird's-eye view of the cathedral. Other seals do not call for any special notice. Many of the above indicate curious phases of native Irish art and treatment.

The monastic seals include that of the Priory of Kells, co. Kilkenny, in 1267, with a scene of Michael the Archangel in combat with the Dragon; and that of the Cistercian Abbey of Tyntarne, co. Wexford, bearing a figure of the Virgin Mary holding the Child. Local seals are usually but little conventional, and those of Ireland form no exception to this rule. Clonmines, in co. Wexford, used the castle type, with a wattled park in base, 1494. The seal of the Provostry of Drogheda, in counties Louth and Meath, *ex parte Urielis*, that is, on the Louth or north side of the River Boyne, had the royal arms of England between two wyverns. The Common seal of the city of Dublin as used at the end of the thirteenth century is very excellent. Its diameter is about three and a quarter inches. On the one side is a ship of war on the sea, with castles fore and aft, mariners on board, one of whom is in armour, another holds a wine-cup or chalice. The reverse bears the design of a castellated edifice, with two warders blowing horns, armed soldiers, and a quatrefoil and trefoil in the background. The borough of New Ross, co. Wexford, had a seal for the office of the Superiorship, in 1719, on which is a stag chased by a hound on a bridge resting on pillars and semicircular-headed arches. Youghal, co. Cork, in 1792, used a curious seal bearing a fleece between figures of St. Blaise, bishop and martyr, about to card the fleece with a wool-comb, and Jason, famous for the golden fleece, with military hat, short-skirted dress, and sword. This, which is inscribed

'BLASE · YOUGHAL · JASON, 1792,'

may be the town seal, or that of a guild connected with the woollen trade which flourished at one time in this town. Equestrian seals are represented by that of Donald Og, son of O'Rogh Macarthy, whose effigy is on a diapered field in a cusped panel of eight points, of the fourteenth century. The Lady Aufrica of Connaught, heiress of the land of Man, and daughter of Fergus and sister of Orry, king of that island, wife of Simon de Montacute, first Baron Montacute, 1306, shows on her seal her figure in a closely fitting vestment with long head-dress, between two branches on each of which is a bird. The heraldic seals of Ireland's nobility and high families are of the usual types. That of Jane, Viscountess Gallway, in 1754, was an octagonal signet of small dimensions, with arms supported by two unicorns gorged with antique crowns, and accompanied with the motto, 'PATIAR · POTIOR.' The Virgin and Child appears on some personal seals of the thirteenth and later centuries. Other miscellaneous devices abound on Irish documents, among which may be mentioned the impression of the wards and barrel of a small key, 1569; busts, 1681, 1686, 1709; initial letters of various dates; a rose-tree and radiant sun with the ambiguous legend 'TIBI SOLI'; flowers, 1566, 1592; an Agnus Dei reguardant, fourteenth century; a roundle with two interlaced triangles; a device of astrological virtue and capability, 1582; three satyrs with a horn and a tambourine, the third dancing, 1316; an eagle, 1618; the divine hand of blessing over a chalice on an altar, fourteenth century; a human heart within an orle of roses all set in a sixfoil panel, 1406; and the sacred monogram of I.H.S. in black-letter characters, 1567.

CHAPTER XVIII

BULLÆ OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE

NO history of seals would be complete without some account of the leaden bullæ of the Byzantine Empire. The employment of lead in the making of seals seems to have been extensively distributed in the mediæval world. Papal seals, seals of the noblesse of Southern France, and Royal seals of the kingdoms of Spain and Aragon, are frequently met with in this metal, and the Sicilian and other Italian bullæ are really a branch of the bullæ of the Byzantines. The softness of this metal, and its affinity for oxygen when undergoing alternate variations of temperature, has unfortunately led to the rapid decay of bullæ in museums and private collections. The best way of preserving them is to coat them with finest boiled linseed oil, which forms a kind of filmy varnish, and protects them from the destructive action of the air. The acid vapour given off from cabinets constructed of new wood, especially oak, has been found to be very injurious. It is always advisable to have plaster of Paris casts made from these bullæ, and if possible copper electrotypes, which will be found to be exceedingly durable. They are generally about one inch in diameter, and very few cords are found by which they were attached to any objects. Of Imperial Bullæ, the British Museum, which possesses a large number of bullæ of all classes taken together, has specimens of those of the Emperor Phocas, 602-610, with the Emperor's bust, and the Virgin Mary standing holding on her breast a plaque bearing a portrait of Christ. It is fully described by M. Schlumberger in his exhaustive work entitled

Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin, Paris, 1884. Heraclius I. and Heraclius's son, Constantine, 613-641, have busts and a figure of our Lord between two crosses; Constantine and Eirene, 797-801; Leo and Alexander, 886-911; Theodora, Empress about 1035; Michael VII., Ducas Parapinaces, Emperor of Constantinople, about 1071-1078: Alexius Comnenus, 1081-1118; Theodora Ducæna, wife of Michael VIII., Palæologus about 1260-1282; and John, Palæologus VI., sometimes called the Vth, 1341-1386; have all left leaden bullæ, bearing portraits and the effigies of our Lord or the Virgin on the reverse, with Greek legends. Baldwin II., Latin Emperor at Constantinople, 1269, is represented in the British Museum collection by a fine golden bulla made of thin laminæ of the precious metal neatly joined at the edges and appended to a document by red silken strings. One side gives this ruler's effigy in majesty with Latin legend, the other shows him in armour on a caparisoned horse, with Greek inscription. Local bullæ generally delineate figures of saints or monograms, many of which are complicated and difficult or impossible to decipher.

Titular personages are the chief owners of these leaden bullæ. The inscriptions are in Greek capital letters, many across the face of the seal or bulla in several parallel lines; often in iambic verse. The pictorial side includes monograms, figures of saints, animals, crosses of various styles, birds, fabulous creatures, and miscellaneous devices and objects. The saints mostly found depicted are the Virgin and Child, sometimes called the Panagia, or the 'All-Holy One,' with special types of representation for particular places. Sometimes the child is pictured on a plaque or medallion on the Virgin's breast, at other times she is lifting up the hands in prayer, and then the type is called 'La Vierge orante,' the Child in the plaque bearing a cruciferous nimbus, type of the 'Panagia Blachernitissa'; St. Nikolas the Bishop, St. John, St. George, St. Niketas, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Stephen, St. Michael, St. Theodore,

St. Pantaleon, and St. Demetrius—all these often appear on the bullæ. One of the most frequent of the monograms stands for *Kurie boethei*, or *Theotoke boethei*, 'O Lord,' or 'O Mother of God, help,' with the name of the owner and his titles in the dative case, the words for 'thy slave,' *tō sō doulō*, being set before the personal name.

Among the numerous offices and designations given to those personages, some referring to military and naval positions, others to court and ecclesiastical or monastic functions, others to subordinate governors and rulers, there occur the following:—Anthypatus Patricius and Strategus of the Peloponnesus, Cappadocia, Chaldæa, Sicily and the Thracians, Archbishop of Cæsaria, Archpresbyter and Abbot, Secretary, Tabularius, Basilicus Candidatus (a class of royal bodyguard dressed in white), Chartularius, Protostrator, Turmarch of Sicily, Basilicus Clericus, Basilicus Mandator, Œciacus (in charge of the Emperor), Protospatharius (a class of noble military hierarchy), Duke of Calabria, Quæstor, Spatharius, Drungarius of the Ægean Sea, Archon of Aguntum in Sicily, Besta Classis (a kind of admiral), Hetæriarcha, Strator, Vestarch, Judge, Catepan of Melitene, Vestiarius, Bouleutes, Ostiarius, Candidatus, Cubicularius, Comes or Count, Commerciarius or Publican, Cubicularius, Sacellarius, Curopalata, Deacon, Diœcetes or Procurator, Duke, Eparchs and Ex-Eparchs, Bishops, Priests, Hypatus or Consul, Magister, Minister, Monk, Notary, Œcetes, Patriarch, Patrician, Præfect, Prohedrus, Proprætor, Protonotary, Protoprohedrus, Protospatharius, Chrysotricliniarius, Mystographus, Strategus, Stratelates, Protostrator, Sebastus, Silentiarius, Spatharo-Candidatus, Spatharo-Cubicularius, Topoteretes, Tribune, Turmarch, and so forth. All these officers, and many others, exercising public or court functions, are described and explained by Ducange, Schlumberger, and other writers.

Private owners use a multiplicity of devices, chiefly saints and monograms, the Archangel and Archistrategus

Michael with nimbus, sceptre, and orb, and jewelled dress, one of the grand military protectors of the Byzantines; the Virgin and Child, or Panagia with many types, sometimes with a rosary, at other times in prayer, or as Theoskepastos, *Protégée de Dieu*; simple names or monograms, St. Nikolas, Constantine the Great, St. Theodore; figures and busts of divine and holy personages, St. George, St. Demetrius, and St. Theodore; notable Byzantine saints, with spear and shield; St. John Chrysostom with a book; animals, birds, and monograms: all these and several other subjects are found on these ancient and interesting personal relics of an Empire that has performed its task and passed away into oblivion.

CHAPTER XIX

SEALS OF ITALY—BULLÆ OF POPES AND DOGES OF VENICE, ETC.

THE seals of Italy are numerous and varied. Their art appearance is unique, but sometimes approaches the French and early German styles. Carolus III., Emperor of the German Empire, was King of Italy in 881, and had a seal *en placard* of the German type. Berengarius, King of Italy, 882-922, used a fine large seal, about two inches by one and three-quarter inches, of the bust type, *en placard*. His dress is fastened by a fibula on the shoulder, and he wears a jewelled fillet, with pendants. His arms consist of a spear and circular convex shield with a crosslike device on it. Of Italian States and noble families many heraldic seals of the finest class were in use during the middle ages. The earliest times of Naples, Jerusalem, and Sicily are generally represented in seal collections by a few leaden bullæ, such as that of Gregory I., Duke of Naples, in the seventh century, containing his name and another, perhaps that of S. Jacintus, a patron saint. Boemund, Prince of Antioch, twelfth century (?), belongs to this series. His leaden bulla gives an equestrian figure on one side; on the other, effigies of St. Peter and St. Paul, with a branch of lily or fleur-de-lis between the saints. Edmund, King of Sicily and Apulia (*ob.* 1295), Earl of Lancaster, son of King Henry III. of England, had a seal of majesty as king, with the royal arms of England on the reverse. Frederick III., King of Sicily, 1306, used a gem signet, on which was engraved the classical figure of Omphale with her distaff. The letters

F. T., for *Fridericus Tertius*, are on the setting, and the inscription is the text, 'INICIUM · SAPIENCIE · TIMOR · DOMINI.' Robert, King of Jerusalem and Sicily, Count of Provence, 1309-1343, used leaden bullæ with the heraldry of Anjou-Sicily and Provence. Later sovereigns used equestrian or heraldic seals for the most part.

Rome is rich in the fine and nearly perfect series of Papal bullæ, which are well known to students of seals. They are of lead, appended by hemp-strings, and sometimes, later, by crimson silken cords. They begin at John v., 685, and down to John viii. the type is confined to inscriptions. The last-mentioned pope places his name on the one side and the heads of St. Paul and St. Peter on the other. This type, with slight modifications, and gradual but small increase of size, has been preserved to the present day. Some of the popes appear to have adopted the reverse of their predecessors; others had new matrices. Besides the heads or busts of the two saints and the orb or mound with a long cross and the letters S · PA · — S · PE · between them, small devices were occasionally introduced into one side or other of the bulla. Sometimes one pope had more than one type of bulla, but one was the more usual number. At other times a little alteration suited one pope's bulla to his successor's use. The plain Roman capital letter was superseded by the Lombardic capital letter about the time of Nicolaus iii., 1277-1280. Urban vi., 1378, introduced into the bulla eagles' heads erased, from the armorials of his family, Prignano, as stops between the words of his name. The art shown on the bulla of Gregory xii., 1406-1409, indicates important changes from the archaic and crude Byzantine feeling of the bullæ of previous popes, which, however, is reverted to occasionally at a later time. Here we may observe nascent Italian art in the portraiture of the saints, and the shapes of the letters in the legends. The Indulgences seal of Eugenius iv., 1431, has a figure of St. Peter with two keys, in a carved panel with reticulated background. Pope Calistus iii.

used at Avignon, 1455-1458, to which city he removed his court, a bulla bearing the ancient papal tiara on one side, on the other the apostolic keys with legend, 'CLAVES · REGNI · CELORUM.' Paul II., besides his usual type of bulla, varied the whole type, 1464, and shows the pope enthroned, with cardinals and other figures on one side, and St. Paul and St. Peter, facing, enthroned, on the other. Julius II., 1503, introduced a new type, placing acorns as stops between the words, in allusion to the arms of the family of Della Rovere, from which he sprang, and delineating the apostolic portraits as three-quarter's face. Similarly Leo X., 1513, and Clement VII., 1523, introduce the roundle of the Medici family to which they belonged. This latter pope had a golden bulla which, it is said, he appended to a document whereby he conferred the title of *Defender of the Faith* on Henry VIII., a title borne by successive British sovereigns to this day, although they not only do not defend, but rather reject, the Catholic faith, to which the title originally referred. This bulla is of the finest design and work. The reverse bears beautifully designed portraits of the Apostles Peter and Paul, inscribed 'S · PA · S · P · E · GLORIOSI · PRINCIPES · TERRAE.' As Henry VIII. received this title in 1521 from Leo X., the golden bulla here mentioned must signalise some other event. Paul III., 1534, introduces the fleur-de-lis of his family, the Farnese, into his bulla. Julius III., 1550, places the *monte* or composite mount of three hillocks, in allusion to the arms of his family of *Monte*, on his bulla. Clement VIII., 1592, in the same manner, introduced the estoiles of Aldobrandini. His *Annulus Piscatoris*, or Fisherman's Ring, 1596, shows St. Peter in a boat drawing in a net full of fishes, a type followed apparently by later popes. Alexander VIII., 1689, introduced the eagle of the family of Ottobuoni to which he belonged.

The members of the College of Cardinals had many beautiful seals bearing Biblical scenes, religious emblems, or personal effigies. Among the designs occur

the Stoning of St. Stephen; St. Peter adored by the Cardinal; the various events in the Virgin's life; Michael and the Dragon; St. Nicolas of Myra; St. George and the Dragon; St. Laurence's martyrdom; the Pentecostal Descent of the Holy Spirit; St. Cecilia; St. Eustace; St. Benedict; the Martyrdom of St. Cyriac; St. Hippolytus; St. Rufina; St. Marcellinus; the Agnus Dei; St. Peter, St. Paul; St. Anthony of Padua; and many others. The seal of Cardinal Juan de Carvajal, about 1460, is one of the finest of this series. It is of red wax, embedded in white wax with raised rim in form of a boat. The heraldry and hagiography of this are very elaborate. Ecclesiastic officers of the Papal Court, also, have many beautiful scenes and figures on their seals, derived from the lives and acts of the saints and martyrs, to which are added, in many instances, heraldic and architectural devices. The papal scribe, Master Bernardus of Parma, 1265, used on his seal a curious unconventional portrait of our Lord conceived after the style of a Roman Emperor. It is a bust in profile to the right, the shoulders draped with classic folds gathered up over the left shoulder with a brooch or fibula, and the hair tied with a laurel wreath and fillet with the ends of the ribbons hanging behind. The motto is 'MICHI · CREDITE,' which gives the clue to the personage intended by the portrait. Another beautiful Italian seal of the papal class is that of Master Adam de Phileby, papal subdeacon, where the Virgin Mary is given, half-length, with nimbus, holding the Child, who also has the nimbus, on her left arm. Before them is St. John Baptist, and overhead is the Star of the East, an estoile of eight points.

The Counts of Savoy, of the thirteenth and later centuries, used the equestrian and heraldic types of seal.

Venetian seals are chiefly confined to the leaden bullæ of the Doges. The series begins in the thirteenth century. The types refer to the traditional delivery by St. Mark the Evangelist of a lance-flag or standard to the Doge. The saint holds the open book of his

ECCLESIASTICAL AND MONASTIC SEALS OF ITALY

Gospel. Antonio Veniero, 1382, varied the type by giving the lion emblem of St. Mark, winged and nimbed, on the one side, on the other the armorial bearings of his family on a shield shaped for the forehead of a warhorse, known as *testa di cavallo*. But his successors reverted to the scene of the saint and the Doge. The Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem in Venice, 1315, used the design of the lion of St. Mark between shields of arms, and on the counterseal was the impression of an ancient gem bearing the goddess Ceres enthroned, holding wheat-ears and a cornucopia.

The ecclesiastic seals of Italy yield to none in their charming designs and elegance of drawing. The proportions of the subordinate parts are well maintained, and the *ensemble* leaves a sense of high appreciation on our minds. The designs are personal effigies with attendant emblems and symbols, events in the life of the Virgin and Child, or the saints, heraldic charges and armorial bearings, ornamental devices, and architectural edifices and features such as façades, niches, canopies, throne and tabernacle work, corbels, pedestals, and brackets. Bishops and other dignitaries, both of Italian Sees and Sees *in partibus Infidelium*, are well represented by the series of their seals, casts of which are preserved in the British Museum and other collections. Monastic seals resemble, to a large extent, the seals of ecclesiastics of high degree, in their frequent employment of personal figures, effigies of saints and divine personages, architectural conceptions, and armorial types, to which must be added the head of the House often delineated under an arch or base, adoring the patron and protector of his institution. These seals are of great charm in the fourteenth century; at later times they fall off and exhibit a carelessness and coarseness in some cases which gives occasion for regret. The Hospital Fraternity of St. Thomas the Martyr, or *Hospitale Anglorum in Urbe Romana*, an English house founded in the Eternal City in honour of one of England's greatest saints, had a fourteenth-

century seal bearing the representation of the Holy Trinity, adored by St. Thomas. A later seal of the same house bears the same scene, with the royal arms of Edward IV. in base. The religious orders in Italy were numerous, and so also were their seals, mostly of unconventional styles, with a marked preference for figures of patron saints or their emblems. The local seals are of the heraldic or castle patterns; sometimes a local tutelary saint is depicted. Of the heraldic type, that of Assisi is a good example, with legend 'SERAPHICA CIVITAS'; of the saint type that of Asti bears a fine equestrian figure of St. Secundus, the patron, with legend

'ASTE · NITET · MUNDO · SANCTO · CUSTODE · SECUNDO.'

The 'four good men' of the city of Florence are shown in a fourteenth-century seal, seated on a bench. The city of Syracuse in Sicily shows on its seal of very low relief, in 1584, a castle adorned with heraldry and symmetrical arabesque ornaments of much beauty: 'SIRACUSA · CIVITAS · FIDELISSIMA' certainly deserved a good design on its seal. The heraldic and miscellaneous private seals appear in most instances to follow well-known types. A few have impressions from antique gems engraved with fanciful subjects.

EARLY ROYAL SEALS OF FRANCE

CHAPTER XX

SEALS OF FRANCE

NEXT to the seals of Great Britain, which have now been examined and described in respect to the more interesting and representative examples, those of France claim a foremost place. They are of a very fine character, and in many instances deserve the highest place in our estimation. The collection in the National Archives of France has been catalogued by M. Douët D'Arcq. The royal seals commence with that of Dagobert, 628-638, which has a diameter of three inches, and bears a half-length figure of the king holding a sceptre. The seal is appended to a doubtful charter granted to the Abbey of St. Maximin of Trèves, but has been rejected by antiquaries as false. If so, it owes its origin to early mediæval times, being by no means a modern work. The true seal is of different character, more harmonious with nearly contemporary seals of other monarchs. The type of royal bust or profile portrait on oval seals of very moderate dimensions is continued to the time of Charlemagne, whose bust in profile appears to have been engraved in intaglio on an oval stone. The second seal of this king bears the impression of an antique intaglio, engraved with the bust of Jupiter Serapis in profile wearing the *modius*. Later kings are believed also to have used gems engraved in intaglio, and the seal of Lothaire I., 840-855, may really be a portrait bust of Caracalla or Alexander Severus, crowned with a laurel wreath. Eudes, or Odo, had a fine oval seal measuring about two and a half by two inches, attached *en placard* to a charter in the British Museum. The design appears to

be the portrait of a Roman emperor from an ancient gem. Robert, 996-1031, altered the type to that of the king half-length, and holding sceptre and orb. Henri I., 1031-1060, is the first to employ the simple effigy of the sovereign enthroned holding a fleur-de-lis and a sceptre. Later seals elaborate the details of this type. Louis VII., 1137-1180, sits on a throne the ends of which are carved as lions, with open mouths and extended tails; on the reverse the king, as Duke of the Aquitanians and military leader, is riding on a horse. This is the first royal seal appended to a document, those that have preceded it having been attached *en placard*. Philippe II., Augustus, 1180-1223, uses a small oval counterseal with a fleur-de-lis *fleuronné*. Louis VIII., 1223-1226, introduces the shield of arms semé-de-lis for France Ancient. Louis IX., 1226-1270, reverts to the fleur-de-lis *fleuronné*. In 1269 he had a seal of absence bearing a crown in a carved panel.

As time passes onward, succeeding monarchs elaborate the royal type on the obverse, and the ornamental heraldic counterseal. Philippe IV., 1285-1314, had in addition to the normal type of seal, a golden seal or bulla, with which he sealed a letter to Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, containing the text of the treaty with that prince. The armorial escarbuncle of the kingdom of Navarre is seen on the heraldic counterseal of Louis X., 1314-1316, King of France and Navarre. John II., 1350-1364, is the first to use the arms of France Modern, that is, three fleurs-de-lis, in place of the previous semé-de-lis of France Ancient, to which, however, Charles V., 1364-1380, reverts. His seal of absence shows his effigy half-length. Charles VI. places on his counterseal an angel with open wings holding a shield of the royal arms and sceptres. He, too, gives his effigy, half-length, on his seal of absence. Tapestries and canopies appear on the seals about this time, and the details gradually become more numerous and more elaborate. Louis XII., 1498-1515, had special equestrian seals for his rule over Sicily, Jerusalem, and Milan, 1500-1512, and for his dignity as Dauphin of

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ROYAL SEALS OF FRANCE

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LATER SEALS OF FRANCE (REPUBLIC AND EMPIRE)

Vienne, as well as his normal seal as King of France. Francis II. and his consort, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1559, put their seated effigies on a seal of much detail. They styled themselves, without reason, and to the anger of Queen Elizabeth,

'FRANCISCUS ET MARIA D · G · R · R · FRANCOR · SCOT · ANGL · ET HYBER,'

whereas the English Queen called herself Queen of France by reason of the possession of the Channel Islands, the remaining parts of the ancient Duchy of Normandy. Later kings of France used seals of poor character, continuing the post-Gothic type with sub-variations somewhat of the character of English royal seals of the period. The seals of the Republic, 1792-1804, are medallic, and bear the personification of Liberty in classical garb, with Phrygian cap and bundle of fasces.

Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, and Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, used the Imperial Eagle carrying a thunderbolt, with other attributes of imperial authority. His seal for the 'Hundred Days,' February to June 1815, drapes his effigy in antique dress, enthroned in profile, and holding the sceptres of Victory and Justice. The seal of Louis XVIII., made probably about 1814, shows the king seated, and on the reverse a shield of arms of France and Navarre impaled. Louis Philippe, 1830, gives a profile portrait on his seal, and on the reverse a shield of arms of Orleans. His second counterseal replaces this shield with a diptych or double tablet, inscribed with reference to the Constitution Charter of 1830. The royal offices and royal officers of France used for the most part heraldic seals and armorial bearings. The signet of the Republic gives the figure of the Republic personified as a Goddess holding a Phrygian cap on a pike, and a bundle of fasces and lictor's axe bound together. The queens-consort also used armorial seals. Mary, daughter of

our Henry VII., and third consort of Louis XII., blends the armorial bearings of England and France. Marie Leczinska, Princess of Poland, daughter of Stanislas, and consort of Louis XV., in 1762, used an armorial seal with two shields of arms, of France, and Poland and Lithuania quarterly, over all the family arms of Leczinski. The heraldic or the equestrian type was mostly in favour with royal offices. The ecclesiastical seals of France are very beautifully designed. They represent the prelates and dignitaries of the church, and in many cases figures of the eponymic or local saints or scenes from their lives, generally accompanied by armorial bearings or emblematical devices. The architectural details in which these subjects are contained are often intricate and elaborate; the legends, when not merely descriptive, are appropriate to the designs. Some of the Chapter seals represent buildings, castles, cathedrals, and other sacred edifices. Leaden bullæ occasionally occur in this class, as at Carpentras, Embrun, Maguelone or Montpellier, Vaison, and Viviers. The seals of monasteries, abbeys, priories, and various other religious persons and establishments are very numerous. They, too, chiefly represent views of the several houses, effigies of the patron saints, or episodes from their lives, armorial bearings, and sacred emblems, all generally accompanied with architectural details, such as niches, canopies, and arcades, finely proportioned and elegantly balanced in the arrangement of their parts. The heads of the monasteries are often placed in an attitude of adoration in the base of the seal, where the patron occupies the central position. The third seal of the Priory of Charité-sur-Loire gives, in 1234, an impression of an antique round Greek intaglio gem of the Byzantine or Early Christian period engraved with a representation of the Virgin enthroned, holding the Child 'Emmanuel,' receiving an uncertain object from a flying bird overhead, perhaps the Dove of the Holy Spirit.

Many seals of this class have on their counter-

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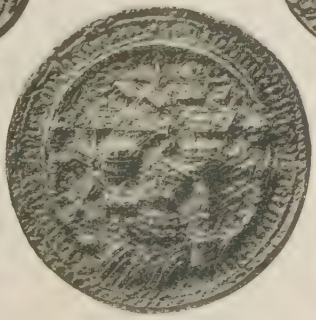

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LOCAL SEALS OF FRANCE

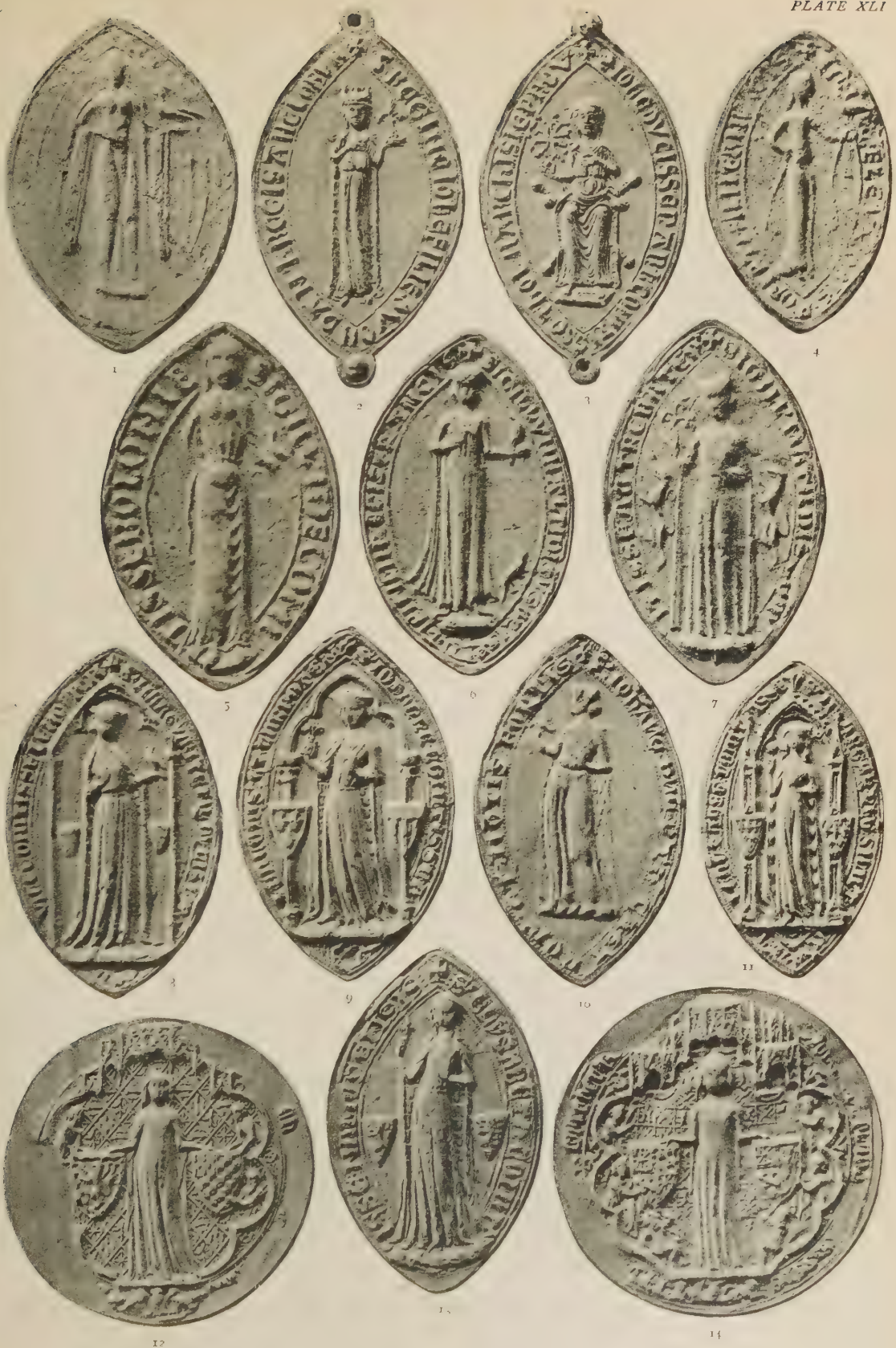
seals the impressions of antique gems finely engraved with classical subjects. A few leaden bullæ occur, as, for example, at Orange in Vaucluse, for St. John's Hospital, 1282-1335. The bugle-horn of Orange is figured on the reverse of this bulla. The city of Paris very naturally contributes many seals in this section. Among those of the Cistercian Abbey of Savigny, in the diocese of Avranches, occurs that of Brother Tideman de Wynchecombe, monk and abbot, 1391, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff in Glamorgan, strangely omitted from their notice of this Abbey by the authors of *Gallia Christiana* (xi. 549), who have written so much on the subject of French ecclesiology. Winchester Cathedral possesses among its archives some very fine fourteenth-century seals of the Benedictine Abbey of Tiron, in the diocese of Chartres. Among seals of religious orders may be mentioned that of the Minister General of the Franciscans, in 1351, with a scene of the Descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost.

Local seals, including those for special districts, corporate bodies, courts, and tribunals, follow no special type, but give illustrations of matters of importance to the districts: heraldry, personal figures, views of towns and cities, castles and bridges, saints, and miscellaneous devices abound, all conceived with artistic care and engraved with excellent effect. A few bullæ must be included here, as, for example, those of Venaissin; that of the twelve consuls of Montpellier, in Languedoc, applies to the Virgin and Child on the counterseal the verses:

'VIRGO · MATER ·
NATUM · ORA ·
UT · NOS · TUEATUR ·
OMNI · HORA.'

The Paris fourteenth-century seals for the several 'Nations' of the University are remarkably elaborate. Equestrian seals, seals of the royal feudatory princes,

leaden bullæ of the nobility, seals of ladies, heraldic seals, and those which bear simple designs, follow much the same course as those of England, but they have characteristics of their own often much finer than the English seal-designs, which can only be learned by studiously examining a large number of specimens.



NOBLE LADIES OF FRANCE

CHAPTER XXI

MISCELLANEOUS EUROPEAN AND OTHER SEALS — DENMARK, GERMANY, THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, POLAND, RUSSIA, SPAIN, SWEDEN, THE EAST, AMERICA, ETC.

CONTINUING the notices of foreign seals, it is found that few Danish seals find their way to English cabinets. A matrix preserved in the British Museum, about the period of the fifteenth century, bears a dexter-hand holding an elaborate fleur-de-lis, on which are two birds. The legend shows that this is the seal of the Prior of Denmark, probably the Prior Provincial of the Carmelites or Dominicans.

The ancient Empire of Germany is represented by a fine series of seals of sovereigns, from the time of Charlemagne or Carl I. *der Grosse*, 768-814, to the present day. The design of this sovereign's seal, and that of several of his immediate successors, is engraved on an oval field, and the matrix may have been a precious stone. The names of the rulers are introduced by the formula: 'CHRISTE PROTEGE,' or 'CHRISTE ADJUVA.' At first the style of sealing termed *en placard* (that is fastened on the face of the document) is used, and the simple bust alone is delineated; then details of dress, or armour, and laurel fillets are introduced. Conrad I., 912-919, gives a half-length portrait with crowns, flag, and shield. This type subsisted, with variations and additions, to the time of Otto, 983, who on one seal appears standing. Heinrich II. is seated on a throne, and holds a sceptre and an orb. This was a favourite type and had a long use, minor details being gradually added and made from time to

time more elaborate, as also was the case in France. Architectural work on the throne appears at the close of the eleventh century. At the end of the twelfth the sun-star and crescent moon are introduced. The method of appending the seal superseded the older form of placard. Friedrich II., 1196, had golden bullæ, as well as seals of majesty. The larger bulla bears the view of the city of Rome with legend

'ROMA · CAPUT · MUNDI · REGIT · ORBIS · FRENA · ROTUNDI.'

The type lasted for a lengthy period, gradually improving in dimensions and the use of subordinate accessories. Heinrich VII., 1308, introduced three lions into the design of the obverse of his seal, and for a counterseal had the figure of an eagle rising reguardant, probably the oldest example of the Royal German heraldic eagle. Ludwig IV., Emperor, 1314, is enthroned between two eagles rising reguardant, his feet on two lions. His eagle counterseal bears the motto,

'JUSTE · JUDICATE · FILII · HOMINUM,'

from the Psalms. Carl IV., 1347, is the first King and Emperor who used armorial bearings; the eagle displayed for ancient Germany and the lion rampant for Bohemia appear on his seal as king. The design of his imperial seal marks a new period in German art, the treatment of the details being in contrast to all previous work. Wenzeslaus, 1378, is the first to use the double-headed eagle displayed, which is still the chief charge in the royal heraldry of Germany, and appears in the armorials of numerous states and provinces. The design has been conjectured to be derived from overlaying two eagles rising which were used separately as supporters in the seal of Carl IV. Details now increase rapidly, the dimensions are augmented, elaborate carving becomes the rule, shields of arms of the several petty states and provinces

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EARLY SEALS OF GERMAN SOVEREIGNS

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EARLY SEALS OF GERMAN SOVEREIGNS

are crowded into the field, collars of Orders are added, and the style of the sovereign in the legends assumes lengthy proportions by specifically naming every district ruled over. Sigismund, 1410, places a nimbus on each head of the eagle, and signalises it with the curious and ancient verses:

'AQUILA · EZECHIELIS ·
SPONSE · MISSA · EST · DE · CELIS ·
VOLAT · IPSA · SINE · META ·
QUO · NEC · ALES · NEC · PROPHETA ·
EVOLAVIT · ALCIUS.'

This appears to refer to Ezekiel xvii. 3. Friedrich III., 1440, introduced into his seal the mysterious letters A · E · I · O · U ·, by some interpreted to signify

'AUSTRIE · EST · IMPERARE · ORBI · UNIVERSO';

by others the equally pretentious sentiment,

'ALLES · ERDREICH · IST · OESTREICH · UNTERTHAN.'

The king's signet ring has been stamped on one impression of his Great Seal in the British Museum collection; the device is a composition of four human faces in profile. Maximilian I., 1493, places a monogram on his golden bulla. Carl V., 1519, introduced the symbolical 'Pillars of Hercules' into some of his seals. Francis I., in the eighteenth century, added allegorical personifications of Faith and Justice to his golden bulla; in this he was followed by Maria Theresia, after 1765. The intricacy and elaboration of the seals at this time are of the most remarkable character. The dimensions are in some cases upwards of five inches, and the shapes are like saucers, a red facing-wax being added to the body, which is generally in self-coloured wax. One of Ferdinand's seals, for example, delineates upwards of seventy armorial bearings, besides Collars of Orders and other imperial accessories.

Of Austrian dukes and other notables there are many fine equestrian and armorial seals known, ranging in date from the fourteenth century downwards. Bavaria contributes several equestrian seals of counts palatine and dukes from the same period. The kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary being for long vested in the Emperor of Germany, most of the seals of these kingdoms must be sought for in the Imperial series. Brandenburg, Brunswick, Saxony, Würtemberg, and other states yield seals chiefly of the equestrian and armorial types. Prussia appears to have followed the same types in the middle ages. The queens-consort of Germany depicted their own figures on their seals, accompanied with heraldry, or conventional details such as trees, the sun and moon, and so forth. Royal signets were generally heraldic. There is a class of Judicial seals, the 'Hofgerichts Siegel' and 'Landfriedens Siegel,' the earlier design of which is the figure of the emperor holding a sword *horizontally* before him. The earliest is of the fourteenth century. Later seals of this class are heraldic.

German ecclesiastical seals follow the same styles as those of England, but the technique is different. Many of them are very fine both in conception and execution. The same may be said of the monastic seals, where saints and their emblems, architectural designs, heraldry, and symbolism all have their frequent part to play. The Virgin Mary, her effigy, and her traditional acts, enter largely into the category of subjects. Military orders contribute some elaborate armorial designs. Local seals, with which are to be included merchant companies, are very varied. They follow much the same types as those of England, Scotland, and other countries. The designs include castles and other edifices, effigies, views, heraldry, celestial and terrestrial objects, utensils, animals, fishes, birds, and many other devices. The towns of Boppard and Coblenz on the Rhine, the city of Cologne, and Constanz in Baden, had very fine seals. Equestrian

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GREAT SEALS AND BULLÆ OF SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY

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SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY

seals of noble personages, personal seals of ladies, armorial seals, and private seals bearing arbitrary designs, are in many instances of the finest character, and compare favourably with the corresponding classes of English and French seals. The heraldry is of fine proportions, both as regards the forms of the shields and the outlines of the charges. This proportion, different as it is, in many cases, to that of other realms, is pleasing and attractive. It demands careful study to master the delicate peculiarities of these artistic German seals.

Seals of the Netherlands, Belgium and Holland appear to follow pretty much the same lines as those of other countries in their respective classes. They are very numerous, and the space at disposal here will only allow of some of the more remarkable being mentioned to guide the student and collector. The Great Seal of the States General of the United Provinces, in 1585, bore the national device, a lion rampant crowned, holding a sword and a sheaf of arrows labelled 'CONCORDIA,' in reference to the union of the several Provinces. The diameter of this fine seal is about five and a half inches. Its counter-seal, three and a half inches wide, bears a dexter hand issuing from the clouds, and holding the sheaf of arrows as on the obverse. The lion rampant enters into the devices of most of the seals of this country. Maximilian of Burgundy, Admiral of Flanders, in 1543, had a fine seal bearing an antique ship of war on the sea, accompanied by numerous emblems among which are a flag with the figure of a merman, the *cailloux* and *briquet* of the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, armorial bearings of the ancient and modern Dukes of Burgundy, and crests and supporters. Franco de Mallenguien, Provost of Bruges, Chancellor of Flanders, in his official seal, used in 1237, appears seated on a bench with terminals of animals' heads, reading a book which rests open on a lectern supported on two columns. Among ecclesiastical seals the type of the standing effigy of the bishop follows the usual character, becoming more orna-

mental and attended with more detail as time progresses. Theobald de Bar, Bishop of Liége, is shown, 1304, seated on a throne with animals' heads at the ends, and holding his staff in the left hand, his right being uplifted to pronounce a blessing. The background is replenished with the charges of the heraldry of the Bar family, and a shield of these arms is set below the platform on which the feet of the effigy repose. The chapter of St. Lambert of Liége, 1399, used a seal on which is delineated the patron saint in episcopal robes, seated on a throne fashioned after the type mentioned above, and having behind him an embroidered mantle or *pavillon*, upheld by two angels. The counterseal or *secretum* shows a celebrant before the altar on which is a chalice, beneath a trefoiled arch, above which are two figures striking the priest. This episode is related in the life of the saint by Godescalc of Liége. St. Lambert appears also on the seal of the Archpriest of Liége, accompanying the Virgin and Child—a late seal, perhaps of the sixteenth century.

The monastic institutions of the Netherlands in the middle ages were many as indeed they are now. Their seals, which vary considerably and are not conceived according to any conventional types, are very beautiful for the interpretations of national history and art which they render. Among the designs may be mentioned various figures of our Lord, Patron Saints, St. Peter, St. Dominic, the Virgin Mary with the Child, St. Martin, and scenes of religious origin. Boxtel, in North Brabant, gives a late seal bearing St. Peter's effigy with rayed nimbus, and holding keys and a book. Clairchamp Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady, near Dokkum, Friesland, depicts the Virgin with a sceptre topped with a threefold branch of fleurs-de-lis; the Child standing on a branch has his arm round the neck of the Virgin, and holds a globe in the left hand. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Floreffe, in Namur, delineates the Virgin and Child adored by St. John beneath a tree. The Benedictines of Ghent figure their patron, St. Peter, seated on

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SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY

a bench-like throne, with his keys and book. Jean Piscator, abbot of this house, 1287, used an elegantly designed seal bearing his effigy on a carved corbel, with background diapered lozengy within a carved panel of fine work. The counterseal bears the figure of St. Peter with his customary emblems, the legend being

'DEUM · TIME · ET · MANDATA · EJUS · OBSERVA.'

The Resurrection of our Lord is shown on the seal, 1434, of the Preaching Friars of the Hague. The Convent St. Mary Magdalene at Maestricht, in Limburg, had a thirteenth-century seal on which is shown the *Noli me tangere* scene of our Lord appearing after Resurrection to the patron saint in the garden. Sinnebecca, or Zonebeca, an Austin Canons' Abbey in the Diocese of Ypres, had a fine large seal, measuring not quite three inches long by two inches wide, of the vesical form, the matrix of which was found at Bangor, in North Wales. The design is a figure of the Virgin Mary, with crown and nimbus, seated on a carved bench with cushion and shafts, holding a fleur-de-lis, and on her left knee the Child, who has a book and is giving benediction. The corbel on which this design rests is ornamented with a grotesque face, and the sacred letters *alpha* and *omega*, each combined with a crosslet, are at the sides. The Prior and Convent of Regulars of Utrecht, dedicated to St. Mary and the Apostles, had a seal in use in 1421, on which is depicted the Virgin and Child with the Apostles at the Holy Sepulchre, attended by an angel. The introduction of the Divine Child into a scene of the Sepulchre may at first sight appear incongruous and anachronous, but from the point of view of mediæval art, which in this instance considers the figure of the Child simply as the concomitant emblem of the Mother, without reference to the Risen Christ, is accurate enough. The priests of the Fraternity of the Virgin in St. Michael's Church at Zwoll, in Overyssel, had a fine fifteenth-century

seal showing the Virgin Mary with the Child under a canopy, attended by two angels playing, the one a violin, the other a pipe. The Carthusians of a Convent of the True Cross in Belgium, at a place not identified, showed on their fourteenth-century seal a scene of the Crucifixion of our Lord, between St. Mary and St. John, and at the foot of the cross, which is bedewed with drops of blood, a coffin contains the body of Adam, in accordance with traditional belief that the cross was set up over the exact spot of Adam's grave. St. Paul seems to allude to this in 1 Cor. xv. 22.

Local seals, inclusive of those of corporations, courts, districts, and bailliages, cover a large field of miscellaneous designs. Amsterdam has on its town seal a ship of antique build with armorial bearings, 1374. Audenarde, in East Flanders, 1275, an *escarcella* or leathern wine-bottle with loop handle. Axel, in Zeeland, 1237, three trefoiled objects, perhaps chess-rooks; the second seal of the *scabini*, or *échevins*, 1244, a castle of quaint construction. The Grand-Serjeant of Braine-le-Comte, in Hainaut, delineates in the sixteenth century the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, an unusual subject with the seal-engraver. The *scabini* of Courtray, in West Flanders, had an early seal, 1199, with a representation of the patron, St. Martin; the later seal, 1237, still retains the same type. A fourteenth-century seal of the provosts and scabini gives an elaborate castle, or tower, with shield of arms. Hondesdamma, in West Flanders, gives, 1237, a curiously built ship, approaching a *dam* or pier on which stands the town hall or custom-house; the second seal, used in 1309, has a ship of much detail worthy of study by the lover of ancient maritime construction and seamanship. The rudder is particularly noteworthy. Dordrecht, in South Holland, uses the castle type in 1374. Furnes or Veurne, in West Flanders, had a seal, 1237, bearing a seeded fleur-de-lis of very strange ornamental form; the later seal varies the form of the flower, which there becomes still more remarkable.

LOCAL SEALS OF THE NETHERLANDS, ETC.

One of the seals of the Communes of the Province of Friesland, 1338, is very interesting. The diameter is about three and three-quarter inches. The design is a figure of the Virgin Mary with the Child and sceptre. On her right is a Frisian warrior clad in long coat of armour, with sword and buckler; on the left a similar figure with lance and target. Below, under an arch, two wingless angels are rising in adoration between crosses. The legend, which in one place disregards metre, is

'HIS · SIGNIS · VOTA · SUA · REDDIT · FRISIA · TOTA · CUI · CUM · PROLE · PIA · SIT · CLEMENS · VIRGO · MARIA.'

The citizens of Ghent in 1275 depicted the patron St. John Baptist, with the Lamb of God, in a carved niche, attended by angels swinging censers of incense; later seals for 'legationes' continue the type, but place books instead of thuribles in the hands of the angels. Grammont or Mont-Gheraud, in Hainaut, had on its seal, used in 1244, a curious design of a rocky mount between trees of remarkable shape, and at top a long cross. The *scabini* here, in 1275, used a churchlike design, but retained the type of the rocky mound on the counterseal. Gravelines, in Flanders, shows, 1340, the renowned Patron St. Willibrord in a boat, attended with a mariner and an acolyte. The corporation of St. James 'de le Hoke' shows on its Common seals, 1275 and 1309, the pilgrim patron with his book, staff, and wallet. Hulst, in West Flanders, places on the seal of its *scabini*, in 1237, an effigy of St. Willibrord, the patron bishop, between two tall candles in floral sconces. Lammins-fliet, or Sluys, in Zeeland, depicts, 1309, the Virgin enthroned with the Child, in her hand a cross held to her breast, between two long candles in candelabra; waves are at her feet. Leyden, in South Holland, had an interesting seal of the fourteenth century for the 'Scultet,' eight Jurats, and Corporation. This represents St. Peter enthroned, between thurifer angels, and adored

thirteenth century; the Chapel Royal of Oslo gives a figure of the Virgin Mary, to whom a kneeling votary is offering a model church, fourteenth century; and the equestrian seal of Audouin Huglace, Norwegian ambassador to France, 1295. Poland is not rich in seals. That of King Sigismund III., about 1589, is heraldic and well designed. The red wax on which it is impressed is set in a thick saucer-shaped mass of yellow wax, and appended to a document by silken strands. The seals of the Czars of Russia generally represent a double-headed eagle displayed, charged with armorial bearings, and having collars of various orders hung on it. The legend is in Slavonic capital letters arranged in concentric circles. The Admiral Vasily Anitchkof, of the time of Peter I., about 1700, had the design of a war-vessel of remarkable details. There is a fine Great Seal of Stephen Dabisha Tuartko II., King of Servia and Bosnia, 1391-1396, which seems to have been inspired by German prototypes.

Spain, comprehending Castile and Leon, is rich in leaden bullæ and seals. The earlier sovereigns employed the leaden bulla attached to documents by silk strands of two or more divers colours, yellow and green, red and white, crimson and gold, in preference to the seal of wax, following in this respect the Byzantine and Papal customs, and influenced no doubt by the similar method in vogue with the French noblesse. Alfonso IX., King of Toledo and Castile, in 1186, had a bulla with equestrian obverse, and on the reverse the triple-towered castle of Castile, which has endured, as an heraldic charge, to the present day. Alfonso X. put the castle on the one side, and the lion rampant of Leon on the other. Sancho IV., King of Castile, Leon, Murcia, Algarbe, and other provinces, in 1293, used the throne type on the obverse, on the reverse the equestrian type with shield of arms quarterly Castile and Leon. This is a wax seal about four and a half inches in diameter. Fernando IV. carries on this form in 1298, placing the arms in a *rueda* or circular panel. This

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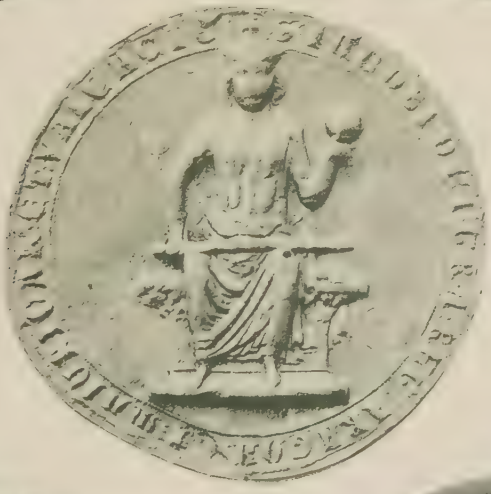

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ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN

blessing, and at the sides a castle and a lion, for Castile and Leon respectively. Sancho II., archbishop, primate, and chancellor, is shown in a seal, used in 1269, seated full-face on a chair-like throne with terminals of the heads and feet of lions, somewhat after the French style. His counterseal shows the archbishop adoring the Virgin and Child, and receiving the investiture of the *pallium* from the crowned figure of the Divine Mother. The Star of Bethlehem here takes the form of an estoile of eight rays between the two figures, and the legend consists of the words of the salutation :

'AVE · MARIA · GRATIA · PLENA · DOMINUS · TECUM.'

The whole scene is a fine example of Spanish art, and the anachronisms which occur are unimportant. Gonzalvo de Aguilar, Archbishop of Toledo, 1351-1353, on his original seal of red wax embedded in a mass of self-coloured wax, approaching the dimensions of three inches by two inches, is seated, holding a long cross, and lifting up the right hand in blessing, upon a folding throne with ends terminating in the heads and feet of lions within a canopied niche of three arches. Above in a smaller niche are seen the Virgin and Child, and on the carved corbel which supports the whole edifice or façade is a shield of arms.

Of monastic seals of Spain few have come to our notice. One of the most interesting, which combines the official with the personal motive, is that of Doña Blanca, daughter of Alfonso III., King of Portugal, and grand-daughter of Alfonso X., King of Castile, Abbess of Santa Maria de las Huelgas in Burgos, about 1313. This is ogival, measuring about three by two inches, in self-coloured opaque wax. The work is fine; the design consists of a figure of the abbess on the one side, and on the reverse a plain cross with a bordure or role, of vesica-shaped compartments, holding alternately the triple-towered castle of Castile and the lion rampant of Leon.

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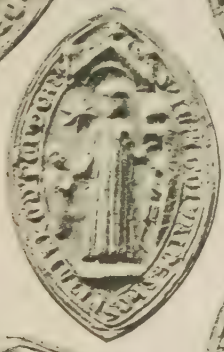

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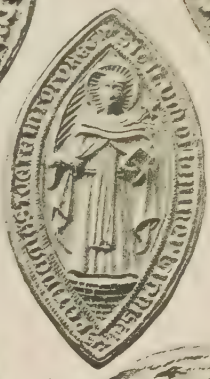

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SEALS OF SPAIN AND NORWAY

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ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN

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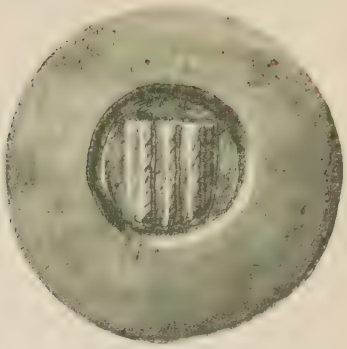

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ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

This is a very representative specimen of the herald's skill in blending family with corporate arms. Among local seals attention may be drawn to that of Cordova in 1493, another good instance of compounding armorials. The shield of arms which it carries bears a lion rampant crowned within a bordure compony charged with the castles of Castile and lions of Leon, of each nine disposed in alternate juxtaposition. The thirteenth-century Common seal of the town of Fuentearabia, in the Vascongadas, bears a gang of four mariners in a boat harpooning a whale; on the reverse, a castle of Castile elaborately detailed, and the sententious inscription, 'FRANGE · LEGE · TEGE,' a favourite motto with seal-engravers of all countries. The town council of San Sebastian adopted the type of ship in their seal used in 1335. Here the various operations for navigation are of much noteworthiness. The device on the reverse is an elaborately conceived castle of rectangular form with four round towers and a keep. The legend is aptly chosen:

'INTRAVIT · DOMINUS · JESUS · IN · CASTELLUM.'

The University of Salamanca in Leon had the scene of a doctor instructing scholars, and armorial bearings of Castile and Leon. The legend is curious:

'OMNIUM · SCIENTIARUM · PRINCEPS · SALAMANTICA · DOCES.'

The 'Most Noble city of Seville,' in Andalusia, had a fourteenth-century seal showing the King of Spain in robes of majesty, enthroned beneath a canopy, and attended by two prelates of the church. Equestrian seals and those bearing heraldic charges are not particularly numerous, and the art does not attain to a very high standard. Of the subordinate kingdoms and realms now included in Spain, that of Aragon contributes a few leaden bullæ of archaic type, such as that of King James,

1242, on the one side showing the king in majesty, on the other the equestrian figure of the king as Count of Barcelona and Urgel. Pedro IV. followed these types, 1336-1387. The Great Seal of the latter sovereign, in red wax, four and three-quarter inches diameter, appended to a deed in the British Museum by a finely woven ribbon of crimson and yellow silk strands, the national colours of the country, shows the sovereign in majesty in the midst of architectural features containing draped attendants, and is inscribed with the Psalmist's verse:

'DILIGITE · JUSTITIAM · QUI · JUDICATIS · TERRAM · ET · OCULI · VESTRI · VIDEANT · EQUITATEM.'

On the reverse the king in armour, crested with the dragon's head and wings, rides a caparisoned warhorse charged with arms of Aragon, the background being beautifully filled up with wavy sprigs of arabesque foliage.

The kingdom of the Majorcas, in similar manner, yields for our delight to-day a fine leaden bulla of James I., 1263-1311, as king, on the obverse, in majesty; as Count of Roussillon and Ceritania, equestrian with heraldry, on the reverse. The kingdom of Navarre, intimately connected with that of France, gives us a fine seal of Charles III., used as a 'seal of absence' in 1404, the reverse of which bears the design of an angel standing on two lions couchant addorsed, with his wings ouvert, and holding before him a shield of arms quarterly Navarre and Evreux. Other royal seals of Navarre must be sought for among the seals of the kings of France. Blanche of Artois, Queen of Navarre, consort of King Henry I., and Countess Palatine of Champagne and Brie, in 1275, uses a seal on which are four shields of arms arranged in cross, their bases towards the centre. The arms are: three lions passant in pale for her husband Edmond, son of King Henry III. of England, Artois, Navarre, and Champagne. Seals of the other classes appear to follow

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ROYAL SEALS OF SPAIN

usual types. One specimen is very characteristic. It is that of Don Fernan Pedrez, son of Don Pedro Ponz of Navarre, in 1277. The design is a conventional tree of three branches with a goat leaping up at the branches (an idea of classic origin, adopted also by Haddington in Scotland). It is within a square compartment formed by overlaying two ovals; in the lobes thus formed at the sides of the square are four lions.

Swedish seals of armorial types are influenced by German styles. Switzerland contributes ecclesiastical and local seals of considerable interest. The Synod of Basle, 1431-1443, used a leaden bulla representing the assembled dignitaries illumined by the Dove of the Holy Spirit, while the Almighty Father looks down from the heavens. The communes and citizens of some of the cantons and other districts had curious designs on their sixteenth-century seals, as for example: Appenzell, a bear; Basle, a remarkable churchlike edifice, and for its consuls, a shield of arms; Berne, a bear and an eagle displayed; the town of Biel, or Bienne, an armed man in a boat or on a boat-like pedestal; Boudri in Neuchatel, for its town contrasts, 1593, an eagle displayed with a shield of arms on the breast; Fribourg, a castle and eagle displayed thereover; Glarus, the effigy of the patron saint Fridlino; the Grison jurisdiction of the 'Ligne des Dix,' a wildman with a banner; that of the 'Ligne de la Maison Dieu,' the Virgin Mary standing over a shield of arms; the 'Ligne des Grisons,' St. Michael and the Dragon, and a shield of arms; Lucerne, the martyrdom of St. Leger under a canopy, accompanied with angels and a shield of arms; St. Gall, a bear holding a ball; Schaffhausen, a walled town with a mountain goat issuing from a tower; Schwitz, St. Martin dividing his mantle with a beggar; Soleure, an armed man and armorials; Unterwalden, a key; Uri, 1489, armorials; Sion or Sitten in Valais, a saint over a shield of arms, between two eagles displayed; Zug, armorial; and Zurich, the three saints Felix, Regula, and Exuperantius, each hold-

ing a dissevered head, in a shrine of three pointed arches.

Of Asiatic seals and bulla, very few call for special mention. That of Pierre Pleine-Chassagne, Bishop of Rodez and Patriarch of Jerusalem, is three inches in diameter, and bears the scene of the three Maries received by an angel at the Holy Sepulchre, accompanied with scenes of the Crucifixion of our Lord between St. Mary and St. John: the Baptism of our Lord kneeling before John Baptist; with other saints and heraldry. The guardian of the Convent of Mount Sion in Palestine, in 1668, represented on its seal two rare subjects, the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and Jesus washing the feet of the Apostles. A few Jewish seals are known. Their art is poor, and the legends in Hebrew characters of archaic form are not easy to decipher. The Jewish congregation of Seville in the fifteenth century gives a triple-towered castle; the same device was used by a certain Tadros Hallevi, son of Samuel Hallevi, son of Al-levi of Toledo, perhaps at an earlier date. The Great Seal of Humbert, dauphin of the Viennois, Patriarch of Alexandria, 1354, is remarkable for its size, four and a half inches diameter, and the multiplicity of its images, where, in an elaborate Gothic façade of many niches, are set the Virgin and Child with angels, the arms of Dauphigny, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Catharine, St. Remi, and six-winged seraphs, besides numerous emblems.

American seals are not numerous. The Confederate States, in 1862, had a seal made by Mr. J. S. Wyon, but it is of no merit as a work of art. The design is more or less a copy of the statue of George Washington at Richmond in the States. The Corporation for Promoting the Gospel in New England had, in 1661, a seal bearing the figure of a Native with bow and arrow, on the shore, pointing to a Bible, and inscribed: 'COME · OVER · AND HELPE · US.' The Governor and Society of Massachusetts in New England represent, on their seal of 1678, the figure of a Native with bow

and arrow, and use the same inscription as above. The 'Republic' State of Massachusetts places on a shield, in 1812, a native figure with bow and arrow; the indistinct motto below may perhaps be the same as already described. Pennsylvania, in 1699 and later, used a curious seal of William Penn, 'True and Absolute Proprietary and Governour in Chief of the Province,' bearing a shield of arms and emblematical devices, referring to the natural products of the country, accompanied with the words 'Mercy,' 'Justice,' 'Truth,' 'Peace, 'Love,' and so forth.

GLOSSARY OF HERALDIC AND CONVENTIONAL TERMS

*** Heraldic subjects are, in most instances, not delineated naturally but artificially, and have a particular form and character of their own, which can only be ascertained from illustrations contained in books that deal with armorial bearings and charges.

Acorns, 283.
Addorsed (placed back to back), 53, 222, 308.
Affronté (facing to the front, or full-face), 207.
Ailette (a kind of plate armour for protecting the shoulder), 174.
Alligator, 188.
Anchor, 186, 242, 243.
Angel, as supporter, 58, 214, 254, 255, 258, 260, 261, 265, 266, 303.
—— wingless, 301.
Angel's head, 262.
Annulet (a ring, of specified dimensions in proportion to the shield), 64, 125, 172, 205, 207, 256, 266.
Antelope, 172, 256, 261.
Arms, sleeved, 263.
Attires (or antlers) of a stag, 255, 262.
Augmented honourably (by addition of a special charge to the usual armorial bearings), 214.

Badge (or heraldic bearing, accompanying, but not on, a shield), 31, 32, 39, 40, 45, 47, 53, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 122, 170, 172, 206, 207, 215, 273.
Baldachin or Baldaquin (a canopy or tester over a royal effigy), 58, 121.
Ballflower (a small conventional bud or poppy-like flower, used as an enrichment in architectural details, and generally having four petals or leaves, curved inwards), 62, 184, 256, 257, 267, 272.
Banner, 309.
Banner-flag (a banner on a staff), 150, 153, 155, 191, 247, 273.
Banner-flag, split, 207.
Barbed and seeded (of roses, provided with thorns and having a centre dotted), 71.
Baron and femme (descriptive of the charges of a shield divided by a perpendicular line down the middle, and bearing the arms of the husband on the dexter or left hand, and of the wife on the sinister or right hand side of the spectator), 184.
Barry nebuly (marked with horizontal wavy lines), 186.
Base (the foot or lower part of the field of a shield), 105, 263.
Bear, 309.
—— and ball, 309.
Bend (a band lying obliquely from dexter to sinister, that is from left to right, upon a shield, of a specified width in proportion to the size of the shield), 105, 182, 254.
—— sinister (same as above, but from right to left), 105.
Bezant (a circle of gold, representing a piece of money), 146.
Bezantée (powdered or filled up with bezants), 146.
Birds called *livers* or *lithers*, 151.
Blackamoor (or negro), 187.
Blackamoor's head, 184.
Boar, 191, 242.

Boar's head, 253, 255, 259, 260, 261.
Border, or bordure (of a specified width, on the edge of the shield), 146, 148, 150, 178, 263, 267, 306, 307.
Briquet (the steel striker of a flint-and-steel for making fire), 297.
Buckle, 255, 256.
Buckler (or shield of ancient form), 301.
Bugle-horn, 291.

Cabochon, en (convex), 115.
Cabossed (seen from the front), 68, 166, 255, 260, 262.
Cadency (heraldic signs to indicate position or order of several scions or cadets), 305.
Caillou (the flint of a flint-and-steel for making fire), 297.
Caltrop (a pointed object used in warfare to obstruct cavalry, a point standing up in whatever position the object is placed), 60.
Cantoned (with bearings or charges in each quarter or canton), 149.
Caparisons (coverings of a war-horse), 60, 66, 67, 158, 159, 169, 170, 171, 172, 176, 196, 202, 256, 303, 308.
Castellated (figured to represent a castle), 111.
Castle (of conventional form, somewhat like a rook in a set of chessmen), 65, 68, 69, 70, 155, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 241, 242, 244, 246, 247, 249, 275, 286, 290, 300, 302, 304, 306, 307, 309, 310.
Castle of Castile, 38, 39, 56, 68, 71, 305, 306, 307.
Chained, 178.
Chapeau (or cap of heraldic form), 53, 54, 169, 178.
Chaplet (or garland of foliage and flowers), 264.
Charged (by having a heraldic device placed on it), 148, 263, 264, 266, 308.
Chausse (a shoe of particular form in armour), 176.
Chequy (marked with small squares like a chessboard), 61, 62, 175, 250, 267.
Chess-rooks (of heraldic form like a rook in a set of chessmen), 300.
Chevron (a heraldic ordinary like a gable; this is of specified width in proportion to the area of the shield. According to Berry, it is 'composed of a twofold line pyramidical, the foundations being on the dexter and sinister sides of the escocheon and the acute point of the spire near the top of the field, resembling a pair of rafters to support the roof of a house'), 60, 123, 144.
Chevronelly (marked with lines like chevrons), 183.
Cinquefoil (a rose-like flower of five conventional leaves), 54, 68, 137, 169, 176, 184, 190, 247, 262, 267, 268, 272.
—— double, 161.
Cockatrice (a fanciful conventional creature, resembling in some respects a cock and dragon combined), 178, 191.
Coif (a headpiece in the period of mail armour), 175, 176, 196.
Collared (heraldic collars are often placed on animals used for supporters), 159, 178.
'Compartment of Grass,' 255.
Compony (chequy of one tract or horizontal row), 307.
Contourné, or *Contournée* (turned to the sinister or right-hand instead of the usual manner of turning to the dexter or left-hand), 53, 263.
Cony, or rabbit (the heraldic animal is not drawn naturally), 257, 258.
Cordon (a circular row or band of charges), 75, 140.
Cornucopia, 285.
Coronet (a kind of crown), 170.
Coroneted helmet, 257, 258.
Couchant (lying down or seated, with the head up), 158, 308.
Couché (sloping to the dexter), 184, 252, 254, 256, 259, 261, 303.
Coué (cowarded, of animals, with the tail between the hind legs), 254, 256.
Counterchanged (when the divided field and the charges are alternately tinctured this term is used), 170.
Counter-passant (when two or more creatures are tricked in the attitude of walking in opposite directions), 146.
Couped (cut off by a horizontal line), 53, 62, 253.
Courant (running), 54, 240, 256.
Crane's neck, 256.
Crescent (like a new moon, with the two horns or points turned upwards), 35,

36, 86, 99, 101, 106, 108, 120, 122, 123, 124, 126, 127, 128, 137, 147, 153, 156, 159, 163, 164, 183, 190, 211, 212, 216, 217, 224, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 237, 240, 243, 245, 248, 253, 272, 294.
Cresset (a kind of beacon or fire-stand), 68.
Crest (the heraldic charge placed on a helmet or wreath), 184, 185, 245.
Cross (in heraldry the width is proportionate to the area of the shield), 108, 147, 149, 156, 161, 188, 262, 268, 273.
—— in (arranged in the form of a cross), 184, 267, 309.
—— of St. Andrew (a cross saltire or ×-shaped), 37.
—— of St. George (used on flags), 37, 148.
Cross fleury (a cross with the extremities like a *fleur-de-lis*), 248.
—— *formée* (similar to the *cross pattée*, with 'extremities spreading like dovetails'), 75.
—— *pattée*, 138, 273. See *Cross formée*.
—— *patonce* ('the ends terminate something like the bottom part of the *fleur-de-lis*.'—BERRY), 268.
Crosslet (a cross with short bar extra across each limb), 122, 214, 299.
Crouching (of an animal, in the act of preparing to spring), 152.
Crown, 273.
—— antique (with sharp points along the top), 276.
—— of three *fleurs*, 124.
Cruciferous, or crucifer (bearing the mark of a cross), 124, 142, 157, 217, 232, 278.
Cruzily (powdered or set with small crosses in order of a quincunx), 177.
Cushion (the heraldic cushion is of what is commonly called a diamond shape), 259.
Cusp (the point where two curved lines meet in tracery or carving), 75, 265, 276, 305.

DAIS (a raised platform), 58, 59.
Debruised (having some charge, generally a bend or fess, placed over it. 'An ordinary lying upon an animal.'—BURKE), 105.
Demi-angel, 272.
Demi-lion, 207, 259.
Demi-savage, 263.
Demi-serpent, erect, 263.
Devise (a heraldic badge or design), 66.
Dexter (turned to the left-hand side of the spectator), 57, 145, 202, 256, 273, 305.
—— hand (the right hand), 259, 261, 297.
—— hand and arm erect, 262.
Diapered, or *diapré* (ornamented with geometrical or curved lines, leaves, sprigs, or flowers), 74, 178, 212, 258, 259, 264, 273, 276, 299.
—— lozengy, 64, 66, 67, 261.
Difference, or differentiation (a method of distinguishing one member of an arms-bearing family from another by giving special marks or charges), 168, 170, 213, 264, 266.
Dimidiate (to divide the bearings by a vertical line down the centre of the field), 49, 266.
Displayed (in heraldry, of an eagle, spread out with wings open, legs apart, head to dexter), 120, 138, 264, 267, 269, 294, 304, 309.
Dog, 256.
Dragon (a fabulous heraldic creature, with wings like those of a bat), 49, 62, 65, 66, 92, 99, 106, 123, 129, 135, 141, 143, 149, 154, 164, 169, 172, 175, 190, 262, 273, 275, 284, 309.
—— double-headed, 303.
—— with two tongues, 180.
Dragon's head and wings, 308.
—— wings, 186-7.
Ducally gorged (with the coronet of a duke on the neck), 179.

EAGLE, 145, 266, 267, 269, 276, 303, 309.
—— crowned, 65.
—— displayed, 253, 257, 258, 262. (*See* Displayed.)
—— —— double-headed (this heraldic charge is as old as the thirteenth century. *See* Plate XLVIII. fig. 8, 1275. It was first used as a German Imperial bearing by Wenceslaus, 1378. *See* p. 294), 254, 255, 264, 269, 294, 304.
—— rising (in the act of springing up to take flight), 162, 247, 294.
—— Royal German heraldic, 294.
Eagle's head and wings, 258.

Eight-leaved rose, 247.
Elephant, 265.
Embattled (with crenellated cresting or parapet wall), 70, 91, 138, 139, 140, 146, 147, 151, 155, 162, 163, 165, 166, 258.
Embowed (bent at the elbow), 263.
Enarme (the strap on the inner side of a shield, whereby to hold it on the arm), 54, 176, 195.
Enfile (passing within and through, as a sword, passing through the head of a beast, is said to be enfiled with the head), 150, 206.
Engrailed (edged with small curved lines or loops, the points towards the interior of the area of the shield), 243.
Enhanced (honoured by the addition of some armorial distinction over the shield), 169.
Ensigned (bearing an additional mark of heraldic importance), 215.
Erased (as if torn out or from the body, and having jagged marks of the division), 145.
Erect, wings (pointing upwards), 256.
Ermine (represents white fur with small black spots of conventional form), 178.
Escallop (or pecten-shell), 68.
Escarbuncle (a peculiar heraldic charge of shape like a cross and saltire from the same centre, or star of eight points, with fleury tips, etc.; originally it signified a precious stone), 108, 253, 288.
Escarcella, or leathern bottle, 300.
Escrol or escroll (a waving slip, band, or ribbon, generally having a motto, etc.), 65, 253.
Escutcheon in surtout (a small shield placed on the shield over all the charges), 263, 264.
Estoile (or star of six points), 35, 216, 253, 260, 262, 283, 284, 306.

Falcon (a heraldic bird somewhat similar to an eagle, but with closed wings), 71, 174, 260, 303.
Fan-plume (a plume of feathers spread out like a fan), 168, 171, 204, 256, 259.
Feathered serpent, 178.
Fess (a heraldic band, lying horizontally on the shield, and of definite breadth in proportion to the field or area of the shield), 250.
Fess, in (arranged in a horizontal row), 36.
Fillet (a hair-band or ribbon), 284, 293.
Fitchée (sharpened at the foot), 214, 273.
Five wounds of our Lord (a heraldic design, like small vesical figures), 143.
Fleece, 155, 275.
Fleur-de-lis (a heraldic and conventional flower, supposed to resemble in some degree the flower of the common water-iris), 39, 45, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 69, 82, 104, 139, 140, 147, 153, 163, 169, 171, 172, 175, 179, 180, 205, 207, 229, 231, 245, 270, 281, 283, 288, 293, 298, 299, 303.
—— compound, 124.
—— inverted (upside down), 108.
—— seeded (with two small stalks bearing seed-vessels issuing from between the petals), 300.
Fleurdelisé (in the form of a *fleur-de-lis* at the summit or end), 58.
Fleuronné (enhanced with additional buds), 288.
Fleury (with parts resembling a *fleur-de-lis*), 128, 148, 177.
Floreated (resembling a flower of *fleur-de-lis*), 190.
Flory counterflory (enhanced with *fleurs-de-lis*, pointing alternately inwards and outwards), 199, 214, 250.
Formée, cross, 75. *See* Cross.
Fructed (bearing its proper fruit), 64, 70, 245.

Galley (an oared ship or boat of ancient form), 234, 245, 246, 247, 248.
Gamb (the paw of a wild beast), 65, 259.
Garb (a sheaf of corn), 145, 257.
Garter (a band for the knee with a buckle, the symbol of a Knight of the Order of the Garter), 46, 55, 67, 144.
Gartered, 63, 67.
Gaze, at (looking front-face to the spectator), 149.
Genouillère (a piece of plate-armour for the knee), 174.
Gillyflowers (a conventional flower like a pink), 263.
Goat, 62, 172.
Goat's head, 261.

Gonfanon (a banner or flag of peculiar form), 196.
Gorged (having a coronet or other charge on the neck), 276.
Gouttées-de-sang (marked with drops representing blood), 143.
Gouttes-de-sang (drops to represent blood), 149.
Greyhound, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 172, 246, 256, 260.
Griffin (a heraldic fabulous creature, consisting of the forepart of an eagle, the hindpart of a lion), 65, 66, 67, 259, 263, 267, 270, 303.
—— supporters, 158.
Griffin's head, 70, 254, 257.
Guardant (with the head turned to the front or spectator), 246, 254, 255.
Guige (the strap of a shield), 54, 184.

HANDS holding swords, 245.
Harp, 37, 47, 63, 273, 274.
Harpy (a fabulous heraldic creature, consisting of the upper half of a woman, and the rest of an eagle or other bird), 303.
Hatched (marked with close lines crossing diagonally), 175, 176.
Hauberk (shirt of mail armour), 168, 169, 173, 175, 176, 195, 196, 202.
Hauriant or haurient (palewise of a fish, perpendicular), 119, 150, 151.
Heart, human (heraldic and conventional, like that on a playing-card), 245.
Heart-shaped shield, 253.
Heater-shaped shield (resembling a heating-iron), 182.
Heraldic antelope (a heraldic creature, unlike the natural antelope; its body resembled 'that of a stag, the tail of a unicorn, a tusk issuing from the tip of the nose, a row of tufts down the back part of the neck and the like on the tail, chest, and thighs.'—BERRY), 61, 143, 172.
Heron (conventional heraldic bird), 256.
—— feather, 262.
Horse's head, 259.
Horseshoes and horsenails, 69.
Hound's head, 260.
Housing (or clothing for a war-horse), 273.
Human head, 256.
Hunting-horn, 163.

IMPALE (to divide into half by a vertical line; when two coats are impaled the shield is divided down the middle and one coat given on each side), 49, 57, 58, 59, 61, 164, 184, 266, 289.
Increscent (a crescent with the points or horns to the dexter), 260.
Intaglio (cut or engraved below the surface), 287.
Interlaced (interwoven), 242, 276.
Issuing (coming out from), 309.

JESSES (the cords by which a bird is held in the hand), 303.

KITE-SHAPED shield (long, with pointed base), 196.

LABEL (a horizontal band with three or more pendants, placed in the chief part of a shield, sometimes but not always touching the sides), 63, 160, 170, 305.
—— of Lancaster, 53.
—— of three points, 145.
Labelled (tied with a band), 53, 169, 170.
Lady's head (conventionally drawn), 260, 265.
Lamb, 250.
Lambrequin (an ornamental cloth or foliage added to a helmet, between it and the crest, and is depicted floating behind the person who carries it), 178, 184, 253.
Lance-flag (a flag or banner at the end of a lance), 66, 174, 175, 178, 195, 198, 206, 284.
Leaved, 70.
Leopard's face (heraldic and conventional, full-face of a lion), 63, 68, 69, 140, 199.
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